

THE
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Volume XXXIX

APRIL, 1944

Number 7

Program of Annual Meeting	383
Exile Under the Roman Emperors	Mary V. Bragiaten 391
Notes	
Gaps in Magical Circles and Other Enclosures	Eugene S. McCartney 408
A Note on <i>Ass.</i> XII, 473-478	LeRoy C. Barret 412
Book Reviews	
White, Derrance S., <i>The Teaching of Latin</i>	W. L. Carr 414
Leonard and Smith, <i>T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura</i>	George Dupue Hadwits 418
Hints for Teachers	
Roman Circus	Harriet Echternach and Elizabeth Jolner 424
Suggested Activities for Latin Week	Jonah W. D. Skiles 425
Latin Week in Lincoln, Nebraska	Jessie B. Jury 427
Latin Newspaper Special for Latin Week	Bessie Rathbun 429
Book Mark: "Latin Goes to War"	Bessie Rathbun and Amy Crabbe 430
Latin Honor Roll Using Army Citations	Mildred Shumons 431
Current Events	433
News Letter Number 37	Derrance S. White 438
Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals	445

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The CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXXIX

APRIL, 1944

NUMBER 7

FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH

TO BE HELD AT

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, APRIL 6-7-8, 1944

CONVENTION CENTER: CORONADO HOTEL

PROGRAM*

THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 9:00 A.M., REGISTRATION, LOBBY, FIRST FLOOR,
CORONADO HOTEL

9:00 A.M., MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
HEADQUARTERS SUITE, CORONADO HOTEL

THURSDAY, 10:00 A.M., CRYSTAL ROOM, CORONADO HOTEL

President CLYDE PHARR, Presiding

THERESA S. DAVIDSON, Vanderbilt University, "The Minutes of the Roman
Senate on December 25, 438."

E. W. BOWEN, Randolph-Macon College, "Ovid—Why Banished?"

ARTHUR H. MOSER, University of Tennessee, "Twentieth-Century Thucy-
dides."

HELEN PRICE, Meredith College, Raleigh, N. C., "*Titus, Amor ac Deliciae
Generis Humani.*"

CLARENCE A. FORBES, University of Nebraska, "The Ancient History of
Massacres."

D. M. KEY, Birmingham-Southern College, "The Devil in Greek Literature."

THURSDAY, 2:00 P.M., CRYSTAL ROOM, CORONADO HOTEL

WILLIAM ARNDT, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Presiding

LAURA ROBINSON, Centre College, "Censorship in Republican Drama."

* Due to the war shortage of paper it has seemed best not to send additional pro-
grams to our members, but such programs will be available at the St. Louis meeting.

All papers will be strictly limited to twenty minutes unless arrangements have been
previously made with the Secretary.

- LUCY HUTCHINS, Blue Mountain College, "My Class in First-Year Greek."
 THOMAS S. DUNCAN, Washington University, "Plato and Poetry."
 ALFRED P. DORJAHN, Northwestern University, "Aristotle's Second Ten:
Ath. Pol. 38, 3."
 J. P. HEIRONIMUS, University of Wisconsin, "Dioscorides and the Alexandrian
 Epigram."
 L. R. LIND, University of Kansas, "Lucretius, A Roman Psychiatrist."
 HAROLD W. MILLER, Furman University, "Early Critical Writings on Greek
 Drama."
 A. P. MCKINLAY, University of Texas, "The Wine Element in Horace."

THURSDAY, 4:30 P.M.

Members of the Association will be the guests of ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY
 at Tea. Place to be announced.

THURSDAY, 7:00 P.M.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION BANQUET (\$2.55 per plate)
 (Informal)
 CLUB CAPRICE ROOM, CORONADO HOTEL

Concentus Convivalis:

MARS M. and MRS. WESTINGTON, *Arbitri Carminum*.

WALTER MILLER, University of Missouri, "Remarks on the Occasion of the
 Fortieth Annual Meeting."

NORMAN B. JOHNSON, Knox College, "An Analytic Definition of Liberal
 Education."

Presidential Address:

CLYDE PHARR, Vanderbilt University, "The Final Agony of the Roman
 Empire in the West."

FRIDAY, APRIL 7, 9:00 A.M., CRYSTAL ROOM, CORONADO HOTEL

IRENE CRABB, Evanston Township High School, Presiding

VIRGINIA PRAYTOR, Birmingham High School, Birmingham, Alabama, "By
 their Laws Ye shall Know Them."

GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS, University of Pennsylvania and Indiana Univer-
 sity, "A Great Roman Rebel."

MARS M. WESTINGTON, Hanover College, "An Ancient Hitler."

RUTH CARROLL, St. Mary's School and Junior College, "Latin in the Schools
 Today."

GRACE ALBRIGHT, Washington Irving High School, Clarksburg, W. Va.,
"Quid Quaeris?"

ESSIE HILL, Little Rock High School, Little Rock, Ark., "Insulas Bellumque
Cano."

ANNABEL HORN, Wesleyan Conservatory, Macon, Ga., "Handing on the
Torch."

MARK E. HUTCHINSON, Cornell College, "The Place of Latin in the Modern
High School."

FRIDAY, 12:30 P.M., ROOM 3, CORONADO HOTEL

Luncheon Meeting of State Vice-Presidents

Secretary NORMAN J. DEWITT, Presiding

FRIDAY, 2:00 P.M., CRYSTAL ROOM, CORONADO HOTEL

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION

"A Project of Studying the Means for a Better Correlation of
High-School with College Latin."

Chairman: A. PELZER WAGENER, The College of William and Mary

FRIDAY, 4:30 P.M.

LOUNGE OF BROWN HALL, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Members of the Association will be the guests of Washington University at Tea. Washington University may be reached by the Lindell bus (going west) at the front of the Coronado Hotel (which faces south); alight at the corner of Lindell and Skinker (Washington campus visible on the right). Or via University street car (going west), on Olive Street (two short blocks north of the hotel); alight at University stop (first stop past Skinker; campus visible on left). Brown Hall is immediately south of the main building (Brookings Hall, facing east); the Lounge is on the second floor at the west end of Brown Hall.

At the conclusion of the tea, those who wish to see the Saalburg Collection, in the basement of Brookings Hall, will be met there by Professor Tavenner, who will speak informally about the collection. The Saalburg was one of many Roman fortresses built to restrain the encroaching Germans. It was excavated about 1875. The collection comprises a reproduction of the fortress together with replicas of objects found in it.

At the same time Professor Duncan will welcome visitors to the Wulfling Collection of Greek and Roman coins on the second floor of Ridgley Library. This collection of about thirteen thousand coins in gold, silver, and bronze is probably the best university teaching collection in the United States. The very complete library of books on numismatics is housed in the same room.

FRIDAY, 7:30 P.M., CRYSTAL ROOM, CORONADO HOTEL

EUGENE TAVENNER, Washington University, Presiding

- A. P. HAMILTON, Millsaps College, "The Modern Pericles."
 MAY A. ALLEN, Sophie Newcomb College, "The Classical Background of Dante's *Divina Commedia*."
 C. R. HARDING, Davidson College, "Some Examples of Academic and Modernistic Painting in Interpretation of Classical Myths." (Illustrated)
 VERNE B. SCHUMAN, Indiana University, "Modern Counterparts of the Papyrus Letter." (Illustrated)
 BRUNO MEINECKE, University of Michigan, "The Operation for Cataract according to Celsus." (Illustrated)
 GEORGE E. MYLONAS, Washington University, "The Eagle of Zeus." (Read by title).

Immediately following the evening session members and guests are invited to remain for an informal reception in the Crystal Room.

SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 7:30 A.M., PINE ROOM, CORONADO HOTEL

Members of the Committee on the Present Status of Classical Education will meet for breakfast and discussion.

SATURDAY, 9:00 A.M., CRYSTAL ROOM, CORONADO HOTEL

A. P. HAMILTON, Millsaps College, Presiding

- LUCY AUSTIN, Louisiana State University, "The Caerellia of Cicero's Correspondence."
 BESSIE S. RATHBUN, Central High School, Omaha, Nebraska, "Vesontio: Crossroads of History."
 H. W. KAMP, Hendrix College, "Quid Nunc?"
 FRANCES BURKS, Aran Acres, Fairfield, Conn., "No Pickles for Non-Paying Guests."
 H. L. TRACY, Queen's University, "Aeneid iv: Tragedy or Melodrama?"

BUSINESS SESSION, FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

President CLYDE PHARR, Presiding

SATURDAY, 12:30 P.M., EL CORTEZ LOUNGE

Subscription Luncheon (\$1.55) under the auspices of the St. Louis Classical Club

President NORMAN J. DEWITT, Presiding

- GEORGE E. MYLONAS, Washington University, "Greece, Ancient and Modern." (Illustrated)

INFORMATION

HOTEL RATES. Headquarters, *Coronado Hotel*, Lindell Boulevard at Spring Avenue (3700 west): Rooms: single, \$2.75 up; double, \$4.50 up; twin-bed, \$6.00 up.

Among other hotels are the following:

Hotel Chase, Lindell Boulevard at Kingshighway (5000 west): single, \$3.50 up; double, \$5.00 up; twin-bed, \$5.00 up.

Roosevelt Hotel, Delmar at Euclid (4900 west): single, \$2.50 up; double, \$3.50 up; twin-bed, \$4.00 up.

Melbourne Hotel, Lindell Boulevard at Grand (3600 west): single, \$2.65 up; double, \$4.20 up; twin-bed, \$4.80 up.

New Hotel Jefferson, 12th Boulevard at Locust (1200 west): single, \$3.50 up; double, \$5.00 up; twin-bed, \$6.00 up.

Hotel Staller, Washington Avenue at 9th (900 west): single, \$2.75 up; double, \$4.50 up; twin-bed, \$5.00 up.

Mark Twain Hotel, 8th and Pine Streets (800 west): single, \$2.50 up; double, \$3.50 up; twin-bed, \$4.50 up.

Because of congestion in hotels at present, the management may ask guests to combine in double rooms.

RESERVATIONS (IMPORTANT!)

Reservations should be sent as early as possible to the manager of the hotel concerned. Luncheon and dinner reservations should be sent *in advance* to Professor W. C. Korfmacher, St. Louis University, 221 N. Grand, St. Louis 3, Missouri.

TRANSPORTATION

How to reach the Coronado Hotel: All trains enter the Union Station. Take the Park Avenue street car at the east end of Union Station on 18th Street; north four blocks to Olive Street; ask for a transfer; transfer at Olive street to any Olive Street car (going west) to Spring Avenue (3700 west); walk two blocks south to the hotel at Spring and Lindell. Taxicab fare from Union Station to the headquarters hotel is about 50¢. This price carries one to five. Street car cash fare is 10¢.

PLACES OF INTEREST

Washington University (see directions under the Washington University tea); Saint Louis University administration group, Grand and Lindell (one block east); Saint Louis Cathedral, with special services for Holy Week, Lin-

dell Boulevard at Newstead (4400 west). For additional places of interest ask for a folder at the Registration Desk. Attention is called to the Saalburg Exhibit and the collection of Greek and Roman coins at Washington University.

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EXILE UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS¹

SOME thirteen years ago Raymond H. Coon, writing on Ovid in exile, made the remark that "exile is a misfortune that has long since passed from the experience of men. Or if we think of a modern parallel, it is an entirely different experience."² Unfortunately, in recent years exiles have again become familiar figures. Some of them are voluntary exiles; others have been virtually banished or have fled their country to escape a worse fate at home. It is the presence of the exile on the current scene that has led me to ponder the fate of the exile under the Roman emperors. I shall consider particularly the period from Augustus to Trajan, for which the sources are fullest, and I shall deal chiefly with the life of the exile.

The number of imperial exiles whose names are known is not large.³ The majority are men and women of wealth and influence. Among them one finds members of the imperial family, senators with Republican leanings, government officials, ladies of rank, imperial freedmen fallen from favor, orators and literary men, philosophers, and teachers. Humble folk are seldom mentioned by name in the sources. About half of the exiles whose names I have found belong to the reigns of Tiberius and Nero, for which we have nearly complete accounts in Tacitus' *Annals*. Of forty-six persons stated to have been exiled under Nero, at least half may be regarded as political exiles.⁴ Philosophers and the remnants of the Republican circle of Helvidius Priscus help to swell the list of exiles for the reign of Domitian,⁵ of which Tacitus was doubtless thinking when

¹ Read at the Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Louisville, Kentucky, March 21, 1940.

² "Ovid in Exile," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXII (1927), 368.

³ For this study I have gathered from Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio Cassius, Pliny, etc., the names of approximately 150 exiles. It is reasonable to assume that only a few of those who were exiled are known. I use the term exile non-technically to include all who were banished from Rome.

⁴ Of these, thirteen were implicated in the conspiracy of Piso. Some of them may have been guilty; cf. B. W. Henderson, *The Life and the Principate of the Emperor Nero*, 273 f., 486.

⁵ Two prominent Romans exiled under Domitian may have been Christians: Acilius, Glabrio, an ex-consul (Suetonius, *Dom.* 10, 2; Dio LXVII, 14, 3), and Flavia Domitilla, a

in his *Histories* he wrote, *plenum exiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli*.⁶ Although many exiles were probably guilty of the charges brought against them, for which some form of banishment was one of the penalties set by law, the numbers of the innocent who suffered exile unjustly appear to have been definitely greater in the last years of Nero's reign and during the reign of Domitian. The senatorial opposition to the principate was finally crushed by the gradual liquidation of all the old families through sentence of death or exile.

The mildest form of banishment involved relegation from Rome, or from Rome and Italy, or from a province,⁷ either for a term of years or for life,⁸ without a designated place of residence, and (in the case of citizens) without loss of civil rights. For example, Dio Chrysostom, banished under Domitian from Rome and Italy and from Bithynia, the province of his birth, traveled widely in the Roman empire during his fourteen years of exile.⁹ Plutarch, writing his consolatory essay on exile to a man who was thus free to travel about, reminded him of the joys of travel, of the possibility of going if he wished to Eleusis for the mysteries, to Delphi for the Pythian games, etc.¹⁰ He also advised choice of the best and most pleasant city as a place of residence.¹¹ Few cities which were the deliberate choice of imperial exiles are known. Helvidius Priscus, banished from Italy by Nero,¹² spent his exile at Apollonia,¹³ a university town in Illyria. Epictetus went to Nicopolis, opposite

niece of the emperor, who was charged with atheism and banished to Pandateria (Dio, *ibid.*) or Pontia, where in St. Jerome's day her quarters were revered as a shrine (*Epist. Ad Eustoch.* 108, 7, *Epitaphium Paulae Matris*). Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* III, 18, 4) states that many others were banished with Domitilla as "testimony to Christ," but no others are known. See also *Cambridge Ancient History* XI, 32 and 42. St. John was banished to Patmos late in Domitian's reign, according to Jerome, *Euseb. Chron.*, ed. J. K. Fotheringham (London, 1923), 274, and Eusebius, *ibid.*, III, 18, 1; 19, 9.

⁶ 1, 2. Cf. Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* VIII, 5, 4: *πλήρεις δ' αἱ νῆσοι φονάδων*.

⁷ From the time of Claudius anyone banished from a province was simultaneously debarred from Rome and Italy (Suetonius, *Claud.* 23, 2). Cf. *Dig.* XLVIII, 22, 7, 15.

⁸ *Dig.* XLVIII, 22, 7, 2 and 14.

⁹ Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* I, 1, 7; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* XIII, "In Athens"; see also *P-W* v, 848 on Dion. It became customary when a man was banished from Rome and Italy to extend the ban to the province of his birth. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* XIV, 41 for the case of an ex-quaestor who in A.D. 61 was banished from Italy and also from Spain, where he was born. Cf. *Dig.* XLVIII, 22, 7, 10.

¹⁰ *De Exilio* 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹² Tacitus, *Ann.* XVI, 33, 3.

¹³ *Scholia Juvenalis* v, 36.

Actium, when the philosophers were expelled from Rome by Domitian.¹⁴ Junius Gallio, a rhetorician and friend of Ovid, banished from Italy by Tiberius, chose the pleasant island of Lesbos but was dragged back to Rome and kept in custody.¹⁵

Severer types of banishment consisted of (a) relegation to an island or other designated place, either temporarily or permanently, (b) *aquae et ignis interdictio* without the designation of a particular place of residence but with loss of citizenship and confiscation of property, and (c) deportation to an island or other fixed place, which was always for life and which gradually superseded *interdictio*.¹⁶ We first hear of banishment to islands during the reign of Augustus. In 2 B.C. he banished his own daughter Julia to Pandateria, the modern Ventotone, a small volcanic island north-west from the bay of Naples, and in the following year banished her lover, Sempronius Gracchus, a somewhat degenerate member of the famous family of the Gracchi, to the African island of Cercina.¹⁷ Julia and Gracchus are the first of the island exiles whose names are known. To Pandateria was exiled later the elder Agrippina, Julia's daughter,¹⁸ and the young and innocent Octavia, Nero's wife, who was brutally put to death there.¹⁹ The first actual deportation to an island appears to have been that of Vibius Serenus, who was found guilty of provincial maladministration in A.D. 23 and deported to the Aegean island of Amorgos.²⁰ In A.D.

¹⁴ Aulus Gellius xv, 11, 3-5. The first general banishment of philosophers under the Empire had occurred early in Vespasian's reign (Dio LXV, 13, 1 f.). Mass banishments had long been a legitimate method of ridding the city of undesirable foreigners and were also decreed from time to time against actors, astrologers, and twice against the Jews. According to Jerome, philosophers were twice banished under Domitian (*Eusebius Chron.*, ed. Fotheringham, 272-274); cf. also Suetonius, *Dom.* 10, 4; Tacitus, *Agr.* 2; Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* vii, 11; Dio LXVII, 13, 3; Pliny, *Ep.* III, 11, 2, all of whom refer to a banishment of philosophers under Domitian.

¹⁵ Tacitus, *Ann.* vi, 3; Dio LVIII, 18, 3 f.

¹⁶ Cf. W. W. Buckland, *A Text-book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian*: Cambridge (1921), 98 n. 10; Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, 967-980; *Dig.* XLVIII, 19, 2, 1.

¹⁷ Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 53, 6. Dio reports (LV, 10, 15) that other lovers of hers were banished to islands, but no names are given. Tacitus speaks of death for some, banishment for others (*Ann.* III, 24, 3).

¹⁸ Suetonius, *Tib.* 53, 2.

¹⁹ Tacitus, *Ann.* XIV, 63 f.

²⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.* IV, 13, 2; cf. L. M. Hartmann, *De Exilio apud Romanos inde ab initio bellorum civilium usque ad Severi Alexandri principatum* 25 f.; Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 974-976, also 949, 957.

12 Augustus had restricted the residences of all debarred from fire and water to islands not less than fifty miles from the mainland (with the exceptions of Cos, Rhodes, Samos, and Lesbos) and had forbidden travel.²¹ The islands most frequently designated as places of exile in the early Empire were the Cyclades, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Isles, and certain small islands close to the Italian shore.

Persons relegated were ordered to depart by a certain date. In case of a group expulsion notices were posted publicly. For instance, under Vitellius, an official notice ordered the astrologers to leave Rome and Italy by October first.²² Like Ovid,²³ most exiles probably remained in Rome until the final day. Few can have shown the Stoic fortitude of Paconius Agrippinus, banished along with Helvidius Priscus in 66.²⁴ When told that he had been condemned, he inquired, "To exile or death?" "To exile," was the reply. "What about my property?" he asked. When he learned that it had not been confiscated, his words were, "Well then, let us go to Aricia and take our lunch there."²⁵ Aricia was the first stop on the road to Brundisium. The formula of relegation, *excedere debebit intra illum diem*,²⁶ indicates that the relegated were generally not removed by force.²⁷ In order to insure their departure and their remaining outside forbidden areas, penalties were designated against those who failed to comply with the decree and also against persons who gave hospitality to exiles within forbidden areas.²⁸ Deportation to an island, however, involved forcible re-

²¹ Dio LVI, 27, 2 f.

²² During the night the astrologers had the effrontery to set up a placard bidding Vitellius die by the same date; cf. Suetonius, *Vit.* 14, 4; Dio LXIV, 1, 4. Under five emperors (Tiberius, Claudius, Vitellius, Vespasian, and Domitian) of the first century astrologers were banished from Rome. The astrologers were continually drifting back. Tacitus declares rather bitterly that they are a *genus hominum . . . quod in civitate nostra et velabitur semper et relinquitur* (*Hist.* I, 22). Juvenal (VI, 562-564) observes that the astrologer most respected for his art is the returned exile, *qui paene perit, cui vix in Cyclada mitti contigit et parva tandem caruisse Seripho*.

²³ *Tristia* I, 3, 5 f., 50.

²⁴ Tacitus, *Ann.* XVI, 33, 3.

²⁵ Epictetus I, 1, 28.

²⁶ *Dig.* XLVIII, 22, 7, 17.

²⁷ Cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, 48. The provincial who was relegated was, however, turned over to the custody of a soldier until an island could be assigned him by the emperor. Cf. *Dig.* XLVIII, 22, 7, 1.

²⁸ *Dig.* XLVIII, 22, 19, 4; 22, 11.

moval.²⁹ Avillius Flaccus, the prefect of Egypt, deported to Andros in 39, was conducted there by guards.³⁰

Whether guards were always maintained on the islands or in other places for surveillance of exiles is not clear. We are told that Flaccus' guards turned him over to the custody of the Andrians and then departed.³¹ Hartmann is inclined to conclude from this example and other evidence that the responsibility for the safe-keeping of exiles generally rested with the magistrates and the residents of the islands.³² An argument for the absence of guards may be the fact that sometimes when exiles were executed men were sent from Rome as executioners.³³ That there were in some cases guards is indicated by a story told of Calpurnius Piso, who was banished by Gaius. When the former asked to take more than ten slaves, the emperor allowed him as many as he liked but told him that he would have just as many guards.³⁴ Another anecdote of Dio³⁵ implies that guards were assigned when they were deemed necessary rather than regularly. In general, the island exile was free to move about within the island. Flaccus, for instance, when living in town, often spent his days alone in the country, and later he changed his place of residence from the town to the country.³⁶

Members of the emperor's family who were exiled form a class by themselves.³⁷ They were all confined on islands close to the Italian coast or in Italian towns, and were probably all closely watched.³⁸ Julia, at Rhegium, whence she was removed after five years on Pandateria, is reported not to have been permitted by Tiberius to leave her house.³⁹ Previously she had been allowed to move about within the town. The military guards of Agrippa

²⁹ As *deportare* and other similar words used in describing this type of exile indicate; cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, 49 f.; also *deportare*, Tacitus, *Ann.* iv, 13, 2; vi, 48, 6; xvi, 9, 2; *amovere*, iv, 31, 5; xiv, 57, 1; *demovere*, vi, 30, 2; *ovehere*, Suetonius, *Titus*, 8, 5; *congesti sunt in navigia*, Pliny *Panegy.* 34, 5.

³⁰ Philo, *In Flaccum* 155, 157. ³¹ *Ibid.*, 161 f. ³² *Op. cit.*, 50-52.

³³ Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 53, 7; xiv, 57, 6; xvi, 9, 3; Suetonius, *Calig.* 28; *Vesp.* 15; Philo, *op. cit.*, 185. ³⁴ Dio *LIX*, 8, 7 f.

³⁵ *LV*, 20, 5, speaking of a person banished, *μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὧν, ἂν γε καὶ Τούτων δεήσει*.

³⁶ Philo, *op. cit.*, 167 f., 185. ³⁷ Cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, 52 f.

³⁸ The words *claudere* (Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 53, 1; xiv, 63, 1) and *continere* (Suetonius, *Aug.* 65, 4) suggest that they were virtually prisoners.

³⁹ Suetonius, *Tib.* 50.

Postumus⁴⁰ at Planasia (a miserable, flat island near Elba, which is still used as a place of detention) and those of Octavia⁴¹ are mentioned. Since the elder Agrippina and her son Nero were removed in chains, in closed litters, and with a guard of soldiers,⁴² it is unlikely that either mother or son on their separate islands was left without a guard.⁴³ Nero was confined on an island to the north on Pandateria, Pontia,⁴⁴ where two of his sisters were later exiled by Gaius.⁴⁵

Exiles did, of course, sometimes leave their places of banishment. At the beginning of Vespasian's reign two culprits who had broken exile were sent back to the same islands.⁴⁶ At this period many who had been exiled under Nero were being permitted to return to Rome,⁴⁷ and these two doubtless hoped that their return would pass unnoticed. Both appear to have deserved their punishment and were perhaps fortunate to escape a worse penalty.⁴⁸ By Hadrian's time grades of punishment were established for those who broke exile.⁴⁹ The man originally relegated for a time was relegated permanently,⁵⁰ the permanently relegated was relegated to an island, the person relegated to an island was deported to an island, while the deported who escaped was put to death.

The status of the person relegated to an island or other designated place was far superior to that of the deported. He retained his civil rights and some or all of his property.⁵¹ His chief handicap was internment in a particular place. Ovid and Seneca in all probability kept most of their property.⁵² As early as A.D. 12,

⁴⁰ Aug. 65, 4; Tib. 22; Tacitus, *Ann.* I, 6 2.

⁴¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv, 60, 5.

⁴² Cf. Suetonius, *Tib.* 64.

⁴³ Suetonius' tale of the beating of Agrippina by a centurian also indicates the presence of a military guard (*Tib.* 53, 2).

⁴⁴ Suetonius, *Tib.* 54, 2.

⁴⁵ Dio LIX, 22, 8

⁴⁶ Tacitus, *Hist.* iv, 44

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 92; also *Ann.* xv, 73.

⁴⁸ Tacitus, *Hist.* iv, 44.

⁴⁹ *Dig.* XLVIII, 19, 28, 13.

⁵⁰ This step is omitted but is implied.

⁵¹ *Dig.* XLVIII, 22, 4; also 14 and 17.

⁵² Ovid (*Tristia* v, 4, 21 f.; 11, 15; cf. II, 129 f.; iv, 4, 45 f.) says he did not lose his property or rights as a citizen; in *Ex Ponto* iv, 8, 32-34, he states that disaster has taken his wealth and refers to his poetry as his only remaining wealth (cf. *Ex Ponto* iv, 9, 121 f.; 16, 49 f.). E. E. Burriss, *Seneca in Corsica* (New York, 1922), 25, states that it is not clear whether or not Seneca's property was confiscated. In *Ad Helv.* x, 2, Seneca says, *intellego me non opes sed occupationes perdidisse*, but *ibid.*, v, 4, he refers to loss of *pecunia*.

however, the property of persons interdicted, a more serious penalty than relegation, had been limited to one-half million sesterces, slaves or freedmen up to twenty, and three boats, one a merchant ship of 30 tons and two provided with oars.⁵³ Later, the person interdicted or deported to an island lost his citizenship without acquiring another, and his property was confiscated by the state or turned over to his creditors.⁵⁴ He no longer had the right to make a will; any property he might acquire in exile simply reverted to the state.⁵⁵ Although he was deprived of his *patria potestas*, his marriage was not dissolved.⁵⁶ He also lost the right to wear the toga, the distinctive dress of the Roman citizen.⁵⁷ He could, however, buy, sell, rent, etc., such ordinary dealings as were included in the *ius gentium*.⁵⁸ Flaccus we know bought a small farm on Andros.⁵⁹ When a man died, and this applied to one relegated to an island as well, his bones could not be moved to another place for burial without the express permission of the emperor.⁶⁰ Nero, for example, sanctioned the return to Rome of the ashes of Lollia Paulina, a former wife of the emperor Gaius, for whose exile his mother had been responsible.⁶¹ At the opening of his reign Gaius went in person to Pandateria and Pontia and brought back to Rome the ashes of his mother and brother.⁶²

One naturally wonders how the person whose property had been confiscated or whose other normal sources of income had been cut off lived in exile. In some cases one hears of an allowance, called *viaticum*, which served to support him. Seneca wrote from his exile in Corsica that the *viaticum exulum* in his day was larger than the inheritance of the chief men of old.⁶³ One allowance of this sort is actually reported, that of Lollia Paulina, who had her property confiscated but was allowed five million sesterces of her great wealth,

⁵³ Dio LVI, 27, 3. ⁵⁴ Dig. xxviii, 1, 8, 1 f.; cf. XLVIII, 22, 6 and 14; also 20, 7.

⁵⁵ Dig. xxxii, 1, 2; XLVIII, 20, 7, 5. As early as A.D. 23 Tiberius had taken away from those debarred from fire and water the right to make a will (Dio LVII, 22, 4).

⁵⁶ Cf. Dig. xxiv, 1, 13; XLVIII, 20, 5, 1; Cod. Just. v, 17, 1; 16, 24, 2. For loss of *potestas*, see Gaius, *Inst.* I, 128. ⁵⁷ Pliny, *Ep.* IV, 11, 3.

⁵⁸ Dig. XLVIII, 22, 15.

⁵⁹ Philo, *op. cit.*, 168.

⁶⁰ Dig. XLVIII, 24, 2.

⁶¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* XIV, 12, 6; for exile, cf. *ibid.*, XII, 22.

⁶² Suetonius, *Calig.* 15, 1; Dio LIX, 3, 5.

⁶³ *Ad Helv.* XII, 4.

a considerable sum certainly, to support her exile.⁶⁴ This must have been an unusual case; Augustus' regulation of A.D. 12 had permitted only one-tenth of this amount to those interdicted. Possibly Flaccus bought his farm on Andros out of his allowance. Augustus provided an allowance for his daughter Julia,⁶⁵ and Livia supported the younger Julia during her twenty years of exile on a small island in the Adriatic.⁶⁶ Doubtless relatives and friends frequently came to the aid of exiles. A young man exiled for plotting against his father's life was generously provided by his father with the same allowance he had had before his guilty attempt.⁶⁷ Although persons deported could not receive legacies as such, the emperor Antoninus gave permission to a mother to leave her son, who had been deported (and to a son to leave his mother in similar circumstances), enough for food and other necessities.⁶⁸ Relatives were eager to see continued for their exiled kin those provisions which they had been able to make while alive. A famous astrologer in exile received an annual pension from a prominent Roman.⁶⁹ Suillius, once the husband of Ovid's stepdaughter Perilla, and later notorious as a prosecutor, banished to the Balearic Isles in 58, had half of his property confiscated, and the other half assigned to his son and granddaughter.⁷⁰ Since he is reported to have lived in exile in affluence and luxury, either he had a *viaticum* of the sort mentioned by Seneca or else his son and grandchild took good care of him.⁷¹ In the time of Domitian a woman sent a boat load of supplies to the exiled Gratilla. When someone protested that they would be confiscated by the emperor, she replied that she would rather have them confiscated than herself fail to send them.⁷² The generous Pliny may have been of financial assistance to Fannia, the exiled wife of Helvidius Priscus, and her mother Arria.⁷³ He made a gift of money to Artemidorus, Musonius' son-in-law, to

⁶⁴ Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 22, 3.

⁶⁵ Suetonius, *Tib.* 50, 1.

⁶⁶ Tacitus, *Ann.* IV, 71, 7.

⁶⁷ Seneca, *De Clem.* I, 15, 2.

⁶⁸ *Dig.* XLVIII, 22, 16

⁶⁹ Tacitus, *Ann.* XVI, 14, 2.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, XIII, 43.

⁷¹ Cf. H. Furneaux, *The Annals of Tacitus*, Vol. II, note to XIII, 43, line 16, p. 211 f.

⁷² Epictetus II, 7, 8.

⁷³ Cf. *Ep.* VII, 19, 10: *ego solacium relegatarum*. These two women, together with Gratilla and Junius Mauricus (*ibid.*, III, 11, 3), were merely relegated, but under Domitian even the property of the relegated was forfeited to the *fiscus* (*Dig.* XLVIII, 22, 1). Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History* XI, 35; also Pliny, *Ep.* VII, 19, 6.

help him pay a debt, when he was banished from Rome along with other philosophers in 93.⁷⁴ In one case, the emperor Domitian permitted a victim to smuggle out a few valuables.⁷⁵ That some exiles may have lived in great poverty is suggested by Jerome's account of the famous orator, Cassius Severus, who, after twenty-five years of exile, fourteen of which were spent on Seriphos, died there in great squalor.⁷⁶ Tacitus also describes the exile Vibius Serenus as in filth and rags when he was haled back to Rome from Amorgos to stand trial.⁷⁷

Some exiles had the companionship of members of their families. Scribonia went voluntarily with her daughter Julia to Pandateria.⁷⁸ Gracchus, Julia's lover, took his infant son with him to Cercina.⁷⁹ Many of the children among the Neronian exiles restored to Rome by Galba⁸⁰ had probably accompanied their parents. Tacitus mentions among the rare examples of *virtus* in the period covered by the *Histories* mothers accompanying their children in flight, wives following their husbands into exile.⁸¹ Fannia is, of course, the best known example of the devoted wife in exile; she twice accompanied her husband, Helvidius Priscus, into exile, and was once exiled on his account.⁸² Rubellius Plautus, advised by Nero in A.D. 60 to retire to his family estates in Asia, and consequently a virtual exile, took with him his wife and a few intimate friends, among them the Stoic Musonius.⁸³ At least two of the twelve men exiled as a result of the conspiracy of Piso in 65 were accompanied by their wives.⁸⁴ Certainly wives did not always go with their husbands. Ovid persuaded his wife Fabia to remain behind to work for his recall, and there is no evidence to indicate that he was even attended by a single slave.⁸⁵ Seneca was without members of his family in Corsica, although he may have had with him a close friend.⁸⁶

⁷⁴ *Ep.* III, 11, 2. ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 11, 13.

⁷⁶ *Eusebius Chron.* (ed. Fotheringham), 258. ⁷⁷ *Ann.* IV, 28, 2.

⁷⁸ Velleius Paterculus II, 100, 5; Dio LV, 10, 14 f. ⁷⁹ Tacitus, *Ann.* IV, 13, 4.

⁸⁰ Tacitus *Hist.* II, 92. ⁸¹ I, 3. ⁸² Pliny, *Ep.* VII, 19, 4.

⁸³ Tacitus, *Ann.* XIV, 22, 5 and 59. ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, XV, 71, 7.

⁸⁵ *Tristia* I, 3, 81-102; Ovid (*ibid.*, IV, 1, 19 f.) says that the Muse was his only comrade on his flight. Cf. Coon, *op. cit.*, 356 f.

⁸⁶ Cf. Martial VII, 44, 10; also J. D. Duff, *L. Annaei Senecae Dialogorum Libri x*, XI, XII, p. xxxiv.

There is little to indicate the numbers of exiles in any one place or on any one island at a given time. We hear of three Augustan exiles at Massilia, two Tiberian exiles on Seriphos, and three Neronian exiles of the years 62-65 in Sardinia.⁸⁷ In A.D. 66 the praetor Antistius Sosianus had a chance to purloin the papers of his fellow-exile, the astrologer Pammenes, in some unknown place of exile.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, the places to which exiles were sent are rarely mentioned. At least seven of thirteen exiles named in connection with the conspiracy of Piso went to Aegean islands, although we know the exact destination of only two.⁸⁹ Ovid must have been the solitary Roman exile at Tomis (the modern Constantza) on the Black Sea; if there had been others, he would surely have mentioned them and he would have had more opportunity to use the Latin tongue, which he frequently complains of forgetting.⁹⁰ The young Gracchus grew up at Cercina among "landless men" (*extorres*)⁹¹ who were probably exiles. Corsica apparently had a considerable number of exiles when Seneca arrived there, many of whom were restored by Claudius.⁹² Although Seneca may have exaggerated the number of exiles in Corsica to emphasize the clemency of the emperor, it is a safe assumption that there were other exiles there. In fact, many an island must have had its little company of exiles.

All the islands to which exiles were sent were inhabited.⁹³ Gyaros and Seriphos, two of the Cyclades, became the most dreaded places of exile.⁹⁴ To a modern traveler, impressed by the beauty of the island town, with a cultivated valley filled with fruit trees skirting its rocky walls, Seriphos seems not to have de-

⁸⁷ Augustan exiles: son of Tarius (Seneca, *De Clem.* i, 15, 2); Vulcarius Moschus (Seneca Rhetor, *Contr.* ii, 5, 13, 13; Tacitus, *Ann.* iv, 43); Lucius Antonius (*ibid.*, iv, 44). Tiberian exiles: Vistilia (*ibid.*, ii, 85); Cassius Severus (*ibid.*, iv, 21). Neronian exiles: Anicetus (*ibid.*, xiv, 62); Cassius Longinus (*ibid.*, xvi, 9); Rufrius Crispinus (*ibid.*, xvi, 17). ⁸⁸ Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi, 14.

⁸⁹ Musonius to Gyaros (Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* vii, 16), Glitius Gallus to Andros (CIG xii, Fasc. 5¹, no. 757), five others to Aegean islands (Tacitus, *Ann.* xv, 71).

⁹⁰ *Tristia* iii, 14, 43-52; v, 7, 56-64, and 12, 57 f.

⁹¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* iv, 13. ⁹² *Ad Polyb.* xiii, 3.

⁹³ Cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, 53-55; also Seneca, *Ad Helv.* vi, 4: nullum invenies exilium, in quo non aliquis animi causa moretur.

⁹⁴ Cf. Juvenal i, 73; x, 170; Epictetus i, 25, 19 f.; ii, 6, 22, etc.

served its reputation.⁹⁵ Poverty-stricken Gyaros had at least a village of fishermen in the time of Augustus.⁹⁶ Curiously enough, of the many exiles who were doubtless sent to this notorious penal island only the Stoic teacher Musonius is known for certain.⁹⁷ Gyaros was reputedly waterless until he discovered a spring there.⁹⁸ Twice Tiberius saved a condemned man from the hard life of Gyaros and sent him to a more fertile island, in one case saying if you granted a man his life you should grant him the means of living.⁹⁹ Flaccus, too, is reported to have escaped Gyaros through the intervention of a powerful friend.¹⁰⁰ Although Seneca in his homesickness placed Corsica beside Gyaros as a place of exile,¹⁰¹ actually on its east coast there were two Roman colonies founded by Marius and Sulla,¹⁰² and Seneca himself comments on the number of foreigners living there in his day.¹⁰³ The Balearic Islands, including lovely Majorca and Minorca, enjoyed a mild climate, and Roman colonists had been established there since the late second-century B.C.¹⁰⁴ Sardinia, although notorious for its brigands and its unhealthy climate,¹⁰⁵ had with Corsica been a Roman province since 227 B.C. The blind and elderly jurist Cassius Longinus survived several years of exile there to return to Rome under Vespasian.¹⁰⁶

To Plutarch, who had himself long lived in a quiet Greek town,

⁹⁵ V. C. Scott-O'Connor, *Isles of the Aegean* (London, 1929), 328; cf. J. Theodore Bent, *The Cyclades*, 1 f.

⁹⁶ Strabo x, 5, 3. In 51 B.C. Cicero touched at Gyaros on his way to Cilicia and sent a letter from that island (*Ad Att.* v, 12, 1 f.). Boats apparently made regular stops there at that time.

⁹⁷ Musonius, in his essay on exile (cf. *C. Musonii Rufi Reliquiae*, O. Hense, Leipzig, 1905, 44), mentions an exile, Spartiacus, whose health had been benefited by the plain living of exile. Spartiacus has been identified by F. Buecheler, *Rh. Mus.* LIII (1898), 166 f., with C. Julius Spartiacus, a prominent Greek of the day. It seems likely that Spartiacus spent his exile on Gyaros, although the reference in Musonius is not conclusive; cf. *P-W* x, 839. ⁹⁸ Philostratus, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁹ Tacitus, *Ann.* iv, 30 (Vibius Serenus); iii, 69 (Gaius Silanus).

¹⁰⁰ Philo, *op. cit.*, 151. ¹⁰¹ *Ad Helv.* vi, 4, 5.

¹⁰² Pliny, *N. H.* iii, 80. Strabo (v, 2, 7) does, however, emphasize the roughness of the island, although Diodorus (v, 13 f.) gives a more favorable account.

¹⁰³ *Ad Helv.* vi, 5: plures tamen hic peregrini quam cives consistunt.

¹⁰⁴ Strabo iii, 5, 1; cf. *Cambridge Ancient History* ix, 152 f.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* ii, 85. ¹⁰⁶ Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi, 9; *Dig.* i, 2, 51 f.

life on a Greek island did not seem too undesirable. What island, he asks, has not a house, a walk, a bath, and fish and hares for those who love sports, and most important, leisure?¹⁰⁷ To an island, he says, only one's best friends come and only out of affection. Unfortunately, there are almost no records of meetings between friends and relatives. Epictetus tells of a Roman who called on him at Nicopolis on his way back to Rome after a long exile.¹⁰⁸ Musonius, the teacher of Epictetus, is reported to have been visited by many Greeks on Gyaros during his stay there.¹⁰⁹ The exiled astrologer Pammenes had a steady stream of messengers coming to consult him professionally.¹¹⁰

Of the occupations of exiles our records do not provide much. Literary men carried on, but what they produced was not usually of high quality. Witness the *Tristia* and the *Pontic Epistles* of Ovid, and Seneca's *Letter to Polybius*. Dio's pupil, Favorinus, a rhetorician from Gaul, deported to Chios under Hadrian, wrote an essay on exile intended for the comfort of other exiles, which papyri have brought to light in recent years.¹¹¹ The orator Cassius Severus, banished to Crete for libel in A.D. 12, apparently continued to publish in exile until he was brought to trial again and sent to Seriphos.¹¹² One exiled senator became a professor of rhetoric in Sicily.¹¹³ He did not find it easy to forget his former rank. Whenever he entered his classroom, he carefully inspected his Greek garb and then announced bitterly, *Latine declamaturus sum*. His lecture was prefaced by a rebuke of the fortune that turns senators into mere professors. The astrologer Pammenes earned his pension by carrying on his profession by mail until one of his fellow exiles intercepted his correspondence and wrote to the emperor.¹¹⁴ Gracchus, the son of an exile, became a trader and eked out an existence carrying wares between Africa and Sicily.¹¹⁵ Dio Chrysostom is reported to have worked for a living at planting

¹⁰⁷ *Op. cit.*, 11.

¹⁰⁸ I, 10, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Philostratus, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.* XVI, 14, 2.

¹¹¹ *Studi e Testi* 53, *Il Papiro Vaticano Greco* 11, 1: Φαβρινίου περί φυγῆς, ed. M. Norsa e. G. Vitelli: Città del Vaticano (1931); cf. P. Collart, "Favorinus d'Arles," *Bull. Assn. G. Bude*, XXXIV (1932), 23-31.

¹¹² Tacitus, *Ann.* IV, 21.

¹¹³ Pliny, *Ep.* IV, 11.

¹¹⁴ Tacitus, *Ann.* XVI, 14.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 13.

and digging, drawing water for baths and gardens, and the like.¹¹⁶ Tigellinus, exiled by Gaius, became a fisherman in Greece.¹¹⁷ The Jewish couple, Aquila and Priscilla, with whom Paul stayed in Corinth, were tentmakers by trade who had left Rome when the Jews were expelled by Claudius in 49 for rioting.¹¹⁸ Humbler exiles with trades had an advantage over the Roman of the upper class. The philosopher, a familiar figure in exile in the last four decades of the first century, continued to teach and preach in exile. Epicetetus established at Nicopolis that remarkable school which is familiar to every reader of Arrian's *Discourses*. Dio Chrysostom became a preacher in part as a result of his banishment.¹¹⁹ Two of the poet Persius' teachers were among those exiled by Nero—Vergilius Flavus, who inspired, says Tacitus, the studies of young men by oratory,¹²⁰ and the Stoic Cornutus,¹²¹ to whom Persius dedicated his fifth satire and to whom he bequeathed his library. Of their lives in exile nothing is known, but they too probably continued to teach. Demetrius the Cynic, whom Seneca regarded most highly,¹²² banished by Nero¹²³ and later by Vespasian,¹²⁴ apparently taught in Greece during his first exile.¹²⁵

One hears occasionally of an exile's interest in the community in which he found himself a resident. When Vulcacius Moschus, whose trial had been the talk of the town in Horace's day,¹²⁶ died at Massilia in A.D. 25, he bequeathed his entire property to that city.¹²⁷ A Roman senator (exiled in 65 in connection with the conspiracy of Piso) and his wealthy wife became the benefactors of Andros, as two inscriptions discovered on the site of the ancient

¹¹⁶ Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* i, 7. ¹¹⁷ Dio LIX, 23, 9; *Schol. Juvenal.* i, 155.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *Acts* 18, 2 f.; Suetonius, *Claud.* 25, 4; A. Momigliano, *Claudius* (Oxford, 1934), 31–33; *Cambridge Ancient History* x, 500. The Jews had also been banished from Rome in A.D. 19, when 4,000 of freedman descent, who were probably Roman citizens and could not be expelled without trial, were conscripted for military service and sent to Sardinia to put down brigandage (Tacitus, *Ann.* II, 85). Cf. E. T. Merrill, "The Expulsion of Jews from Rome under Tiberius," *Classical Philology* xiv (1919), 365–372.

¹¹⁹ *Or.* XIII, 11–13. ¹²⁰ *Ann.* xv, 71.

¹²¹ For exile, cf. Dio LXII, 29, 2–4; Suetonius, *Vita Persii*; Jerome, *Eusebius Chron.*, ed. Fotheringham, 266. ¹²² *De Benef.* VII, 1, 3.

¹²³ Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* IV, 42; cf. *P-W* IV, 2843, "Demetrius" 91.

¹²⁴ Dio LXV, 13, 1 f. ¹²⁵ Philostratus, *op. cit.*, IV, 25; v, 19.

¹²⁶ Horace, *Epistles* I, 5, 9; also Porphyry on Horace, *ibid.*

¹²⁷ Tacitus, *Ann.* IV, 43.

town indicate.¹²⁸ The simple words, "the deme to its patron and benefactor, Publius Glitius Gallus, on account of his goodness," and similar phrases in honor of the wife conjure up a picture of the good works of this Roman couple, who were probably on Andros until the restoration of exiles after Nero's death. Ovid learned the Getic tongue and composed a poem for the natives in it.¹²⁹ He was exempted from taxation by the people of Tomis, whom he later angered by the unkind things he wrote about their city.¹³⁰

Of the lives of individuals in exile during the Empire we of course know most of Ovid and Seneca.¹³¹ Both were in constant touch, as many an exile must have been, with friends and relatives in Rome and bent all their efforts toward obtaining a recall, which for Ovid unhappily never came. Both found life away from Rome intolerable and were wretchedly unhappy. Seneca apparently had with him in Corsica a library of philosophic books;¹³² Ovid complains of the lack of books at Tomis.¹³³ This frontier post where Ovid spent ten dreary years in exile is one of the most remote and barbarous places of exile reported. Fighting was constantly going on around the walled town.¹³⁴ Ovid even took up arms in its defense.¹³⁵

Almost all the tales of torture of exiles are told of exiled members of the imperial family, who were, as we have seen, virtually prisoners;¹³⁶ the accounts are contradictory and sensational enough to invite skepticism, and belong to the tradition hostile to the Julio-Claudian emperors. It is true that exiles were sometimes executed in their places of exile. At the beginning of Tiberius' reign, Agrippa was put to death at Planasia, and Gracchus at Cercina, but they were special cases.¹³⁷ Seneca flatters Claudius

¹²⁸ *CIG*, loc. cit. For exile, cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* xv, 71.

¹²⁹ *Ex Ponto* iv, 13, 18-23.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, iv, 9, 101 f.; 14, 51-54.

¹³¹ For Ovid's exile see particularly Coon, *op. cit.*; for Seneca, Burriss, *op. cit.*, also H. W. Kamp, "Concerning Seneca's Exile," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxx (1934), 101-108.

¹³² *Ad Helv.* i, 2.

¹³³ *Tristia* III, 14, 37 f.; V, 12, 53 f.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, v, 2, 69 f.; 10, 15 f., etc.

¹³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, iv, 1, 73 f.

¹³⁶ For stories of ill-treatment of Julia cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 53; Suetonius, *Tib.* 50; of the elder Agrippina, Tacitus, *Ann.* vi, 25; Suetonius, *Tib.* 53; of her son Nero, *ibid.*, 54.

¹³⁷ For Agrippa cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 6; ii, 39; Suetonius, *Tib.* 22; Dio LVII, 3, 5 f. For Gracchus, Tacitus, *Ann.* i, 53, 6. Cf. F. B. Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius* (London, 1931), 50; R. S. Rogers, *Criminal Trials and Criminal Legislation under Tiberius*: Middletown (1935), 1-6.

by implying that exiles under his predecessor Gaius hourly expected the sword and trembled at the sight of every ship.¹³⁸ Although a wholesale execution of exiles is reported to have occurred under Gaius, only the name of Flaccus, who was executed on Andros, is known for certain.¹³⁹ When a prominent person died in exile, rumors frequently circulated in Rome. The deaths of Julia, the elder Agrippina, and her son Nero all aroused suspicion of foul play on Tiberius' part.¹⁴⁰ Furius Scribonianus, the son of a pretender, who was exiled in 52 on the charge of consulting astrologers as to the length of the emperor's life, died soon after, and there was talk of poison.¹⁴¹ Claudius' wives are held responsible for the deaths of two women in exile.¹⁴² Under Nero in 62 there were three indefensible murders of exiles who were close to the throne.¹⁴³ During the year following the Pisonian conspiracy at least two other prominent exiles were ordered executed.¹⁴⁴ Vespasian's record is apparently clear except for the execution of Helvidius Priscus, who had tried his patience sorely.¹⁴⁵ Exiles were also slain under Domitian,¹⁴⁶ but it must not be forgotten that at the same time prominent men were being put to death at Rome, which is true of Nero's and earlier reigns as well. The exile was usually more secure than the man of his class in Rome.¹⁴⁷ Although the number of exiles executed was doubtless exaggerated, the knowledge that some had been killed would be certain to create feelings of insecurity and anxiety in the minds of exiles.

¹³⁸ *Ad Polyb.* XIII, 4

¹³⁹ Philo, *op. cit.*, 183-185; Dio LIX, 18, 3; Suetonius, *Calig.* 28; Jerome, *Eusebius Chron.* 260. Cf. J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius*: Oxford (1934), 55.

¹⁴⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.* I, 53, 3; VI, 25, 1; Suetonius, *Tib.* 54.

¹⁴¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 52, 1-3.

¹⁴² Gaius' sister, Julia Livilla (Dio LX, 8, 5); Lollia Paulina (Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 22, 3).

¹⁴³ Octavia, Nero's wife (*Ann.* XIV, 64); Rubellius Plautus, a great-grandson of Tiberius, who was being hailed in Rome as Nero's successor (*Ann.* XIV, 22, 57-59); Cornelius Sulla, descendant of the famous dictator and son-in-law of Claudius (*Ann.* XIII, 47; XIV, 47, 59).

¹⁴⁴ Junius Silanus (*Ann.* XVI, 9); Rufius Crispinus, former husband of Poppaea (*Ann.* XVI, 17).

¹⁴⁵ Suetonius, *Vesp.* 15; cf. *Cambridge Ancient History* XI, 8 f.

¹⁴⁶ Aclius Glabrio (Suetonius, *Dom.* 10, 2); Mettius Pompusianus (Dio LXVII, 12, 2-4; Suetonius, *Dom.* 10, 3); Salvidienus Orfitus (Suetonius, *Dom.* 10, 2; Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* VII, 8); Epaphroditus (Suetonius, *Dom.* 14, 4; Dio LXVII, 14, 4).

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* I, 2: *atrocius in urbe saevitum*.

Exiles, even those relegated permanently or deported, were not entirely without hope of recall, particularly at the accession of a new ruler. Both Gaius and Claudius at the opening of their reigns recalled exiles.¹⁴⁸ Again in 44, when celebrating his triumph over Britain, Claudius is reported to have allowed certain exiles to return to Rome.¹⁴⁹ Agrippina in 49 obtained the recall of Seneca.¹⁵⁰ Nero, after his mother's death in 59, restored a number who had been banished through her influence.¹⁵¹ After Nero's death many exiles were allowed to return.¹⁵² Galba, making a speech at New Carthage, just before he was declared emperor, had by his side a boy of aristocratic family whom he had summoned from his place of exile in the Balearic Isles for the very purpose of strengthening his bid for popular support.¹⁵³ Galba shortly afterwards chose as his successor a young Roman, Piso Licinianus, a descendant of both Pompey and Crassus,¹⁵⁴ who had long lived in exile. Otho made an effort, futile though it was in large part, to restore to the exiles who had been recalled property which had been confiscated.¹⁵⁵ Again in 96, after the assassination of Domitian, political exiles were allowed to return and some attempt at restoration of property was made.¹⁵⁶ With Nerva and Trajan a new era began.¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁸ For recall of exiles under Gaius cf. Suetonius, *Calig.* 15, 4; Dio LIX, 3, 6; under Claudius, Dio LX, 4, 1; Seneca, *Ad Polyb.* XIII, 3; Suetonius, *Claud.* 12, 2. Suillius, exiled by Tiberius (Tacitus, *Ann.* IV, 31, 5 f.), was doubtless among those restored by Gaius, as were the actors who had been banished by Tiberius (Dio LIX, 2, 5). Among those recalled by Claudius were Gaius' two sisters (Dio LX, 4, 1), also Calpurnius Piso (*Scholia Juvenalis* V, 109) and Tigellinus (*ibid.*, I, 155; Dio LIX, 23, 9), both of whom had been exiled by Gaius.

¹⁴⁹ Suetonius, *Claud.* 17, 3.

¹⁵⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 8.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XIV, 12, 5.

¹⁵² Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 92; IV, 6 and 44. Among those known to have returned in the year of the four emperors or under Vespasian were Helvidius Priscus, the Stoic Musonius, the jurist Cassius Longinus, Agrippinus, Demetrius the Cynic, and Piso Licinianus.

¹⁵³ Suetonius, *Galba* 10, 1.

¹⁵⁴ Tacitus, *Hist.* I, 14 f.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 90.

¹⁵⁶ Dio LXVIII, 1 f.; Jerome, *Eusebius Chron.* 275; Eusebius, *op. cit.*, III, 20, 8.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Tacitus, *Agr.* 3; according to Pliny (*Panegy.* 35, 2), the most guilty instead of the most innocent were then in exile; islands formerly crowded with senators were filled with informers.

From this study of exile under the Roman emperors it is apparent that the Roman exile, particularly if he suffered the milder forms of banishment, had certain advantages over the modern exile. The Roman had a place to go and funds by which he could live. Exile at best, however, with separation from home, friends, and familiar surroundings and occupations, was a misfortune that only courageous spirits like Musonius or Epictetus could meet without flinching.

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NOTES

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John L. Heller, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.]

GAPS IN MAGICAL CIRCLES AND OTHER ENCLOSURES

In Herodotus I, 84 we find an interesting story of an effort to make the acropolis of Sardis impregnable. When Meles was king, the Telmessians declared that it would be rendered safe from assault if he should carry around it a lion that a concubine had borne to him. In the course of time Cyrus besieged the city and took it. He effected entrance at a point where a Mardian had seen a Lydian scale the walls after recovering a helmet that had rolled down. It was a place at which Meles had failed to complete the encirclement because he had deemed its natural defenses too strong to permit a successful attack.

Superstitious people of many ages and of many countries have attributed magical properties to circles¹ and have regarded the lines forming them as being uncrossable, either from without² or within, by animals or persons or supernatural powers. It would be difficult to uncover anything new to say about magical circles that are complete, and it would seem hardly worth while to make further collections of material, but examples of circles with gaps in them are so rare that they should be put on record if only to illustrate the tale told by Herodotus.

An excellent parallel to the passage in Herodotus may be found in a popular volume by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, *Cross Creek*,³ 276. A superstitious Florida Negress discovered outside her humble house mysterious footprints made by a woman (presumably a witch). For three nights she heard something running through the

¹ Among many important references are the following: S. Eitrem, "Der Rundgang," *Opferitus und Voroßfer der Griechen und Römer* (Kristiania, 1915), 6-75; James Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, VIII (1916), 321-24. I have given a number of other citations in *Classical Philology* XXVI (1931), 166, notes 2 f.

² See, for example, E. S. McCartney, "Magical Circles as Barriers to Snakes," *The Classical Weekly* XXII (1929), 175 f.

³ New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1942).

rooms, and there had been a pistol shot. To shut out the malign being she burned sulphur around her house.⁴ When it did not afford the protection desired she explained the failure as follows: "But I must of left a gap."

The gaps that cause danger are not restricted to real or imaginary circles traced upon the ground. Among the many taboos imposed upon the *flamen Dialis* was one forbidding him to wear a ring unless a segment had been removed from it.⁵ The reason is thus explained by Sir James G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*,⁶ 315 f.: "Taken in conjunction with the rule which forbade him to have a knot on his garments, it points to a fear that the powerful spirit embodied in him might be trammelled and hampered in its goings-out and comings-in by such corporeal and spiritual fetters as rings and knots." In 1886 an anonymous author who had visited the Greek island of Carpathus observed that the inhabitants removed rings from the dead, "for the spirit, they say, can even be detained in the little finger, and cannot rest."⁷ These islanders had another custom just as pertinent to this note—that of leaving unbuttoned the clothes they put on a corpse. Evidently the buttoning of garments would have completed a circle and formed a constricting band. Even among the Greeks and the Romans *cinctae vestes* would have nullified certain religious and magical ceremonies.⁸

In the realm of folklore the outside or bounding walls of a house form a kind of enclosure, and an opening in them operates like a gap in a circle. Mrs. Rawlings' book (*op. cit.*, 78 f.) gives a good example of this form of superstition. When she tried to banish a Negro servant's fear of "ha'nts" by declaring that there was no

⁴ It is noteworthy that both Greeks and Romans frequently used sulphur as a purifying agent. Ulysses purged his halls with it (*Odys.* xxii, 481 f.; cf. Theocr. xxiv, 95), and we find Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxv, 177) making the following general comment about its value: "habet et in religionibus locum ad expiandas suffitu domos." The ancients also employed it in making lustral circles. See, for example, Claudian, vi *Cons. Honor.* 324 f.; Tibullus, i, 5, 11 f.; Ovid, *Met.* vii, 261.

⁵ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 15, 6; Festus, p. 72, Lindsay's edition.

⁶ New York, The Macmillan Co. (1935).

⁷ "On a Far-off Island," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* cxxxix (1886), 238.

⁸ See, for example, Ovid, *Met.* i, 382.

way for them to get in, the servant protested: "They comes in thu the cracks."

Witches may gain entrance to a house even through a keyhole.⁹ A student of Southern folklore writes as follows: "Witches in Virginia can, of course, enter a house through any opening, large or small, that may offer itself. An old woman told me of a witch who, on being married, asked her husband to unstop certain auger-holes in the floor, doubtless wishing to use the apertures for exits."¹⁰

There is a widespread custom of opening doors to speed the departure of the soul of the deceased. In *Guy Mannering* (Chapter XXVII) a picturesque gipsy woman, Meg Merrilies, is a firm believer in the necessity of this act, and she all but makes a ceremony of it.

"... It will not be," she muttered to herself; "he cannot pass away with that on his mind, it tethers him here—

Heaven cannot abide it,
Earth refuses to hide it.

"I must open the door"; and, rising, she faced towards the door of the apartment, observing heedfully not to turn back her head, and, withdrawing a bolt or two . . . she lifted the latch, saying,

"Open lock, end strife,
Come death, and pass life."

A little later, when some ruffians intrude and ask how she dares leave the door open, she puts a question to them: "And wha ever heard of a door being barred when a man was in the dead-thraw? how d'ye think the spirit was to get awa through bolts and bars like thae?"

The same superstition is used by Kipling in "The Gift of the Sea":

The widow lifted the latch
And strained her eyes to see,
And opened the door on the bitter shore
To let the soul go free.

⁹ *The Southern Workman* XXIII (1894), 26 f.

¹⁰ T. P. Cross, "Folk-Lore from the Southern States," *Journal of American Folklore* XXII (1909), 252.

In Yugoslavia a peasant's home in which there has been a death may be kept closed with the idea of preventing a too-hasty departure of the soul. After Louis Adamic and his wife had left the bedside of his dying uncle during a visit to his native land they began to suffer from lack of ventilation in the house. Unaware of any reason for having the house shut at such a time Adamic asked his cousin for permission to open the windows:

"Not now," she said. She added that she knew it was stuffy, and explained very simply that while one was dying in the house all doors and windows were supposed to be closed, to keep the soul in the house awhile after it left the body.¹¹

At the present time superstitions are introduced into conversation and some forms of writing, especially novels, with mock seriousness, but effective use of the idea that a closed building may obstruct the entrance of divine grace has been made in centuries far apart by two men who were not superstitious. The following human-interest story is recorded of the conclave of fifteen cardinals who assembled at Viterbo to elect a successor to Pope Clement IV, after whose death, in 1268, there was a vacancy in the pontificate for nearly three years:

Panvinus tells us that John of Toledo, cardinal bishop of Porto, seeing the cardinals praying daily the Holy Ghost to inspire them with the spirit of concord and union, and yet discord continuing to reign among them, said pleasantly, "Let us uncover the room, else the Holy Ghost will never get at us."¹²

A somewhat similar idea appears in the concluding paragraph of a Christmas proclamation issued by the mayor of a Pennsylvania city in 1932:

May I ask that toward the midnight hour all bells be pealed, and that in each home as the Christmas hour approaches, a candle be lighted and at midnight a window be raised, that the spirit of the Prince of Peace may enter into each home, and therein for the year abide.

¹¹ Louis Adamic, *The Native's Return* (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1934), 68.

¹² Archibald Bower, *The History of the Popes from the Foundation of the See of Rome to A.D. 1758* (Phila., 1844-45), III, 15. See also H. H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity* (New York, 1861), VI, 123.

In the lives of matter-of-fact peoples gates in city walls and doors and windows in houses have proved to be avenues for the entrance of both dangers and blessings; in the world of superstition any opening in a circle or a bounding line may provide a passageway for evils.

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A NOTE ON AEN. XII, 473-478

In editions of Vergil a parallel to these lines might well be cited from Anglo-Saxon story, an anecdote given in J. R. Green's *A Short History of the English People*.¹ Vergil's lines are:

Nigra velut magnas domini cum divitis aedes
pervolat et pinnis alta atria lustrat hirundo,
pabula parva legens nidisque loquacibus escas,
et nunc porticibus vacuis, nunc umida circum
stagna sonat: similis medios Iuturna per hostis
fertur equis,

In Green's *History* is set down the response of some Northumbrians to the claims of Christianity:

"So seems the life of man, O king," burst forth an aged Ealdorman, "as a sparrow's flight through the hall when you are sitting at meat in winter-tide, with the warm fire lighted on the hearth, but the icy rain-storm without. The sparrow flies in at one door and tarries for a moment in the light and heat of the hearth-fire, and then flying forth from the other vanishes into the wintry darkness whence it came. So tarries for a moment the life of man in our sight, but what is before it, what after it, we know not. If this new teaching tells us aught certainly of these, let us follow it."

That which is illumined and clarified by the comparison is very different in the one and in the other passage, but the fluttering, swooping bird is much the same in the two.² In comment on the

¹ Chapter 1, section 3, translated from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, II, 13. This work (tr. by J. E. King) is now available in the Loeb Classical Library.

² [Bede's Latin has only one word, *pervolaverit*, in common with the Vergilian passage, and Plummer does not refer to Vergil here (*Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, Oxford, 1896, 2 vols.). But Plummer's notes suggest no other source for Bede's memorable simile, and the picture of Vergil's bird, flitting through the festive

passage Conington says that Vergil's simile is apparently original, and Papillon and Haigh agree. J. W. Mackail in his edition indicates his belief that *hirundo* means 'a swift,' not a swallow nor a martin. See also Heyne's note.

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hall before the eyes of the lord and his guests, may well have been present to Bede's mind. Many other reminiscences of Vergil on the part of Bede are noted by Plummer, including a notable parallel at the end of this same chapter (II, 13). Laistner has shown that Vergil is the only classical Latin poet with whom Bede was certainly acquainted at first hand, even to the extent of quoting him from memory; see M. L. W. Laistner in *Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings*, essays . . . ed. by A. H. Thompson (New York, Oxford University Press, 1935), 242.]—Ed.

BOOK REVIEWS

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis 5, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

WHITE, DORRANCE STINCHFIELD, *The Teaching of Latin*: Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Company (1941). Pp. 320. \$2.00.

In the preparation of this book, the author was able to draw on many years of teaching experience in the secondary schools and some twelve years' experience in conducting classroom and extension courses in the teaching of Latin. The book is designed both to aid the individual classroom teacher of Latin and to serve as a basic textbook in college and university courses in the teaching of Latin. For several years there was only one such book available to teachers and students, namely, Mason D. Gray's *The Teaching of Latin* (Appleton-Century, 1929); for Bennett and Bristol's *The Teaching of Latin and Greek in the Secondary School* (Longmans, 1901) has long been out of print, and the other handbooks in this field are limited in their scope.

Both White and Gray draw very heavily on the *Report of the Classical Investigation, Part I*, first published in 1924, but the two books differ rather widely in their organization and emphasis. For example, White devotes only one brief chapter (Chapter II) to a discussion of the materials and methods for the attainment of the "Ultimate Objectives," while Gray gives three chapters (a total of sixty pages) to these topics. On the other hand, White devotes seven of his seventeen chapters to a discussion of classroom devices for teaching pronunciation, vocabulary, inflections, syntax, comprehension and translation, and the writing of Latin, that is, to the "Immediate Objectives." Gray gives four of his eleven chapters to these topics.

There is a still greater difference in the points of view which the two books represent. Gray is an ardent advocate of the "Latin word-order" method of comprehending Latin. White is strongly of the opinion that this method is impracticable "because it involves

the expenditure of too much time in the classroom" (page 136); because it would require teachers trained specifically for this method; and because "the average teacher employing this method would use an unwarranted amount of time in oral work" (page 136). However, White's most serious objection to the "Latin word-order" method, which he also calls the "Latin-as-Latin" method, is "its failure to provide those values which we have ascribed to the application objectives, particularly increased ability to speak and write correct and effective English through training in adequate translation" (page 138). White has long been known as a champion of the "translation" (or "grammar-translation") method. He is still a convinced advocate of that method. He says on page 141: "A good translation has traditionally been the ultimate proof that the pupil understands a Latin passage. . . . It is not easy to break down a tradition established over centuries of teaching. Translation has been both objective desired and method employed." Gray would agree that "training in adequate translation" is a valuable means of increasing the pupil's ability to speak and write correct and effective English. He would agree that translation is *one* means (but not the *only* or always the *best* means) of testing the pupil's comprehension of a Latin passage. But he would insist that translation should *follow*, not *precede* or *accompany* comprehension; that "reading" Latin as English (that is, transverbalizing the Latin into English words and transposing words, phrases, and clauses into familiar English word-order) is, in the long run, an uneconomical method and a method that hinders instead of helping a pupil ever to read Latin as Latin and in the Latin order. That White does advocate such a "Latin-as-English" method of comprehension is clear from numerous passages in the book under review; for example, on page 166, in suggesting classroom procedures in the teaching of the *Aeneid*, he says: "Because of the poetical order of the words, the pupil will naturally hunt for subject and predicate and then the modifiers of each, and will confine himself largely to this method throughout the year." Certain passages in the two books might lead the reader to decide that in actual classroom practice White and Gray would not be so far apart after all. On pages 140 f. White says:

Another charge heard is that all teachers using the translation method train their pupils to hunt for the subject and then translate it, to look next for the verb and then translate it, and finally to translate each modifier of the subject and verb. Latin teachers there are, no doubt, who make translating a sufficiently mechanical process, but it may be safely said that most advocates of the grammar-translation method train their pupils to take in the thought in the Latin word-order when the sentence is simple enough for such procedure, and only when necessary do they analyze the thought units in their relation to subject and predicate.

With this bit of semi-recantation compare Gray's statement (*op. cit.*, pp. 60 f.):

A teacher may be an enthusiastic advocate of the Latin word-order method and yet not commit himself to uncompromising consistency in the use of the method. A pupil will sometimes encounter a Latin passage which is obviously too difficult to be comprehended in the Latin order at his stage of progress. . . . No one is troubled by a similar lack of consistency in the reading of English. Every one has probably been forced, at times, to analyze difficult sentences of English prose or poetry before he has fully understood the thought. . . . The adoption of the Latin word-order method does not, therefore, commit teachers to an undeviating use of it under all conditions.

Gray might have added that the adoption of the Latin word-order method *does* commit teachers to cultivate in their pupils the habit of reading (that is *saying*) the Latin *as Latin* and of honestly trying to comprehend it *as Latin*, before resorting to analysis or transverbalization or transposition.

In regard to another important question of methodology, namely, the relative value of the "functional" as compared with the "formal" approach to the learning of the elements of Latin, White supports, with certain reservations and occasional lapses, the strong trend toward functional methods, as exemplified in almost all of the recently published textbooks. He says, for example, on page 157:

Most of the work of the first semester will be concerned with inflections, syntax, and vocabulary building. This work should be done in connection with the reading material and as far as possible should be presented functionally, then mastered in paradigm form.

That our author is *not* very enthusiastic about aural-oral train-

ing in Latin is clear from several passages. He says, for example, on page 104:

But there is a wide divergence of opinion among Latin teachers as to the value of oral work and the amount of time that should be allotted to it in the classroom. It seems beside the point to argue that because Latin was once a spoken language it must be used orally in the classroom and that it is impossible to appreciate the genius of a language without speaking it. . . . Let us admit the value of oral Latin as an enlivening element in a recitation, but admit, too, that few teachers are able to conduct oral work with such a degree of accuracy and fluency as to make further values appreciable.

As to the relative value of "recognition" knowledge and "recall" knowledge of Latin vocabulary and inflectional forms, White takes his stand with the believers in a considerable amount of English-to-Latin translation backed by specific drills in English-to-Latin vocabulary and in the recall of Latin inflectional forms. On pages 58 f. he says:

For years there has existed a small group of teachers who would omit all English-Latin exercises in the first year. These teachers have pointed out the difficulty of recalling a Latin word in comparison with recognizing it in context, and they insist that with reading as an objective this greater strain on the memory is not necessary. However, it has been difficult for these few to convince the many that the omission of Latin writing will not involve a great loss. The majority continue to feel that a certain amount of Latin writing is essential for the mastery of the "facts" of Latin—vocabulary, inflections, and syntax.

For third- and fourth-year Latin the author feels justified in recommending that a little more than one-fifth of the class time be devoted to English-Latin sentences (see pages 181-187). For the fourth year he believes that "prose composition might well be included for those teachers who believe in keeping their pupils form- and syntax-minded as well as literary-minded" (page 74).

As has already been indicated, the bulk of the book (Chapters II-XI) is devoted chiefly to practical suggestions for classroom procedure. In this category should be included also Chapter XIII, which deals with tests and testing. Chapter I is entitled "The Importance of Latin." Chapters XII, XIV, XV, XVI, and XVII are entitled respectively "The Latin Club," "The Pupil in the Classroom," "The

Preparation of the Latin Teacher," "The History of Latin Text-books," and "The Latin Teacher Faces Problems." The book is well provided with footnotes and there is a special bibliography at the end of each chapter. At the end of the book there is an extensive general Bibliography, a directory of publishers, and an Index.

On the whole, the book is written in a clear, straightforward style. There are a few *lapsus stili*. For example, on page 81 the author, in discussing the marking of [vowel] quantities and the placing of the accent, permits himself to say: "The pupil should at all times be able to mark the quantity of the last and the next to the last syllable, since the quantity of the penult always affects the pronunciation."

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LEONARD, WILLIAM ELLERY, AND SMITH, STANLEY BARNEY, *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura*, Edited with Introduction and Commentary: Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press (1942). Pp. 886. \$5.00.

This handsome edition will, I am sure, be regarded as an important event in the history of Lucretian studies. We have two notable Essays: a "General Introduction on Lucretius, the Man, the Poet, and the Times," by Professor Leonard and an "Introduction to the Commentary," by Professor Smith; a "Selected Bibliography"; the Text, with elaborate Commentary; and two Indices—one, an Index of Ancient Sources cited, and a General Index. Eight excellent Plates are included—a page of the Codex Oblongus, one of the Codex Quadratus, one of the Schedae Vindobonenses, and one of the Codex Laurentianus 35.30; the bust of Epicurus in the Capitoline Museum at Rome appears, as does Botticelli's "Primavera"; one plate is entitled "The Problem of the Double Mirrors" and another, "The Nodes of the Year." I know of no other edition of Lucretius that is comparable to this lavish production of the Wisconsin Press, except the superbly printed text of Baskerville's of 1772. The two Essays are so full of rich material—the one of Leonard, so highly suggestive and provocative, the one of Smith,

so informative, the Notes are so thoughtful and bring so much new, fresh commentary before us, that this edition will inevitably take its place in the libraries of all Lucretian scholars for constant use and for comparison with the great, recognized editions of the past. Whatever one's judgment on many problems discussed in these 886 pages may be, this Leonard-Smith edition remains an impressive performance.

The eleven sections of Professor Leonard's "Introduction" of ninety-one pages are concerned with Lucretius' life, his personality, his mind and purpose, his temperament, his poetry, his relation to Epicurus and Epicurean literature, the Epicurean system of philosophy, but they also discuss Lucretius and modern science, the poet's career after death, and the MSS traditions. Memorable as many of these pages are, I wish that Professor Leonard had expanded all the eleven sections of this "Introduction" to a more even and fuller treatment. The result might, to be sure, have been a volume, by itself, but a welcome volume within a volume. The prelude (pp. 3-5) to these 11 sections is a confession of an earnest desire to bring the student closer to an understanding of Lucretius' intellect and imagination; it gives, moreover, a brief statement of the kinds of numerous questions that the serious student himself is sure to ask; and these are discussed in the subsequent sections. Professor Leonard seems to address himself, primarily, to the "student" and modestly expresses the hope that his analyses "may be useful also to some scholars of the older generation." He may be sure of their deep interest. In these initial pages we find strange, bright flashes of phrase that betoken searching inquiry, and they herald the style and nature of the succeeding 11 sections, which have their own distinctive and, very often, distinguished character. They are additions of permanent value to the literature on Lucretius. I say this advisedly, after three careful readings, with full consciousness of the speculative nature of some of these discussions and with full awareness of my own dissent at many points. Every Lucretian scholar must come to grips with these questions, sooner or later, but all will acknowledge Professor Leonard's competence and his rare power to stir the imagination, so richly exhibited throughout.

Section I (pp. 5-15) gives us a superb analysis of all of the items that are discussed by Jerome—biographical material (whether fact or fiction) that has been debated and will continue to be the subject of debate as long as there are readers of Lucretius. Professor Leonard's opinions deserve the compliment of serious consideration—whether or no Lucretius was insane, whether or no Cicero had some relation to the editorial work that preceded publication of the *De Rerum Natura*, whether or no Lucretius died by his own hand—but, more important than that, Leonard's discussions of these and related problems reveal a singular identification of the investigator with the great Roman poet; his reading of Lucretius, his following closely in the footsteps of Lucretius, has been a personal experience that has brought him very close to an understanding of the mind and behavior of Lucretius, whose life is so obscured from us all by a veil that few can lift. We find, here, an extraordinary imaginative projection of the American scholar and poet into the past.¹

Leonard's Essays are provocative—they are, at times, too dogmatic—but they win our admiration, even if, at times, with intellectual reserve. Section II is remarkably vivid—an attempted reconstruction of the nature of Lucretius' life becomes a "precipitate" of Leonard's own feelings, as he reads himself, perhaps, too much, into Lucretius. Section III has power and deep feeling. The appreciation of the significance of the close of Book IV of the *De R. N.* is the most remarkable I have read in English. Section IV, which contains an eloquent account of Lucretius' drama of conversion, has an intensity that is peculiarly Lucretian, but it is no less characteristic of the American writer who has lived with the Roman poet, identified himself with Lucretius, and through sheer power of imagination sought to bring to life the hidden story of Lucretius' revolt and his cataclysmic experience. Dogmatism and specu-

¹ I should like to add here a query and a few mild disagreements. (p. 5) Is it unquestionably true that "Donatus" says that Vergil assumed the *toga virilis* at seventeen? (A note of explanation should follow.) (p. 9) I would hesitate to call Cicero's account of Epicureanism in the *De Natura Deorum* a "superficial burlesque." (p. 10) I am not so confident that echoes of Cicero's translation of Aratus are so clear in the *De R. N.* (p. 18) We can hardly afford to be so dogmatic on the question of Lucretius' aristocratic and financial status in Roman society, nor is Rome necessarily indicated by the references to city life.

lation necessarily play a large role in such dramatic writing. Section VI (on Epicurean philosophy) provokes many disagreements, though the chapter is not merely suggestive, but extremely important in an edition of Lucretius; all students cannot read Burnet or Robin. Leonard may be regarded as authoritative on Empedocles. Section VII discusses another large topic, "Lucretius and Modern Science," in small space, and there are passages of power that are magnificent—in fact, the whole section, with its proper appreciation of the importance of Epicurus, could not have been done at all fifty years ago! I wish that Leonard had mentioned the 17th-century Charleton for his brave defense of Epicurus. Section VIII reveals Leonard, the poet, at his best—sweep and majesty characterize these pages of brilliant exposition of the grand theme of Creation in poetry. Section IX is challenging—and deserves full, special consideration (if space permitted). Section X, on "Lucretius and his Fame after Death," is the least satisfactory, while the concluding Section XI gives an excellent account of the difficult and often obscure and baffling history of MS O.

Professor Smith's "Introduction to the Commentary"—an essay likewise of ninety-one pages—discusses: I. the "Text of Lucretius," the "Manuscripts," the "Principal Editions," "Textual Errors"; II. Lucretius' "Diction and Style," with chapters on "Archaism," "Fluidity of Diction and Orthography," "Meter," and "Rhetorical Elements of Lucretius' Style." All of this has been done with extreme care and represents meticulous scholarship. The discussion of the MSS is the best that we have in English, and Professor Smith knows earlier discussions, treatises, and monographs (e.g., Munro, Lachmann, Merrill, Ernout, Diels, Chatelain, Martin, Hosius, Lehnerdt) thoroughly. The text of Lucretius rests on a first-hand study of many of the Italian MSS and on independent collations of "facsimiles of some" and of photostatic copies of other "ancient" manuscripts. His aim has been to make a study of every single word (p. 119)—and this is his expressed ideal of procedure for the critical editor. A *stemma codicum* appears on p. 115. In a summary list of MSS, given on p. 113, curiously no mention is made of Codices Laur. 35.30 and 31, or of Codex Cantab., although these are, of course, known to the editor; Vat. 3276 and 154 have

also dropped out. The excellent section on "Principal Editions" will make interesting reading for students, but I note a few slight errors: e.g. (p. 117), the date of Lachmann's edition (1850) is about 300 (not 200) years after Lambinus. Professor Smith's high estimate of Diels certainly wins my approval. The chapter on "Textual Errors" will be most useful for students' initiation into these complex problems, although it is surprising to find no reference to Ullman or to Shipley on the subject. The pages on "Diction and Style" are the most elaborate on these subjects appearing in any edition of Lucretius, and these pages carry an almost incredible number of references to the text—I cannot refrain from expressing amazement at the astonishing accuracy of these many numerical references. I am far from subscribing to all of the orthographic suggestions.² The Introduction of Professor Smith, like that of Leonard, will for long be invaluable for English readers, older scholars as well as younger students.

The Selected Bibliography (pp. 187–189) includes thirty-three titles. The editors doubtless had their reasons for keeping the number down to thirty-three. But if many important works (referred to in the course of this book) are, for reasons that seemed valid to the editors, excluded from this list, I wish that they might have appeared in the General Index (pp. 879–886). That Index certainly ought to be complete in this respect, for reference purposes—giving such titles as are excluded from the Selected Bibliography, with exact references to pages in the body of the book where such works are referred to—and, also, repeating the titles that appear in the Selected Bibliography, giving page references for them, as well (e.g., Merrill, Burnet, Farrington, Deutsch, Regenbogen, Cartault, Robin). The scholar was certainly entitled to this consideration . . . and this bit of purely mechanical perfection was called for in an edition of such significance as this one is. But what are we to think of the complete failure of important names, such as the following, to appear in either list?—*Andrade, *Boas, Brieger, Bruns, Conway, Driesch, Duvau, *Frank, Friedlaender, Gomperz, Heinze, *Herford, Housman, Koerte, Lehnerdt, *Martha, Masson,

² I hope to discuss these in another review.

Mewaldt, Postgate, Pullig, Rand, Sandys, Santayana, *Sellar, Spangenberg, Tangl, Usener, *Wallace, *DeWitt, *Zeller—indeed the names that are starred are not, as far as I know (and I have read widely), mentioned anywhere, either in Introductions or Commentary. But Giussanni's name, for example, does appear in the General Index, although references even to him are not complete—and the same is true of others, also,—e.g., Lachmann, Diels, Lambinus, Chatelain, Bailey. This incompleteness is, I think, unfortunate.

But I should like to add in conclusion, that this edition,³ which is a great credit to American scholarship, will be used with gratitude and profit long after the words of praise or of criticism of the reviewer are forgotten.

GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS

*University of Pennsylvania and
Indiana University*

* I hope to discuss the Commentary in another review.

HINTS FOR TEACHERS

[Edited by Grace L. Beede, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of classics, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Roman Circus

Rationing did not prevent Sterling Township High School from presenting a Roman event of importance at the end of the last school year. A Roman Circus was put on instead of the traditional banquet. The signal success of this venture was reflected in the detailed and enthusiastic account carried by the local newspaper—a full column with bold headlines and the subtitle, “Splendid Program Presented by Pupils in High-School Auditorium.” The story, in part, gives the following description of this presentation:

A gala Roman circus was presented by the Latin Club of Sterling Township High School last evening to the parents and friends of the organization. The gymnasium was decorated to represent the amphitheater of the Circus Maximus at Rome in 30 A.D. Down the center of the room ran a huge *spina*, around which the various races were held. On the *spina* sat the Pontifex Maximus,¹ who acted as master of ceremonies; the aedile who judged the contest; and the goddess Venus.

The program was opened with a triumphal procession, led by the heralds: the six vestal virgins, the lictors, the emperor Augustus, the Pontifex Maximus, the aedile, the Roman Maidens, and the chorus. Following an offering to the gods by the Pontifex Maximus, the high-school quartet sang several numbers in Latin. In a fight between a gladiator and a lion, the gladiator defeated the lion. Three teams of freshmen boys then held a chariot race around the *spina*. The red team defeated the blue team and the yellow team. Later, in a relay race, the red team was again victorious. Other events were a duel between two gladiators, a wrestling match, and a discus throw. A group of students also enacted the famous story of Atalanta's race, with a fleet-footed Atalanta, Venus, two of Atalanta's unsuccessful suitors, and Hippomenes, who finally won her.

¹ We here omit the names of the participants, but they were all included in the newspaper write-up.

A group of junior students presented a playlet entitled *Pyramus and Thisbe*, a parody on the versions of the tale by Shakespeare and Ovid. Following the play, the emperor presented wreaths to the victors in the events, and scholastic awards to the highest ranking members of each class. The audience joined the Latin Club in singing "America," after which refreshments were served.

The Circus handbill, a mimeographed yellow sheet of legal size, was effective.

HARRIET ECHTERNACH
ELIZABETH JOINER

Sterling, Illinois
Township High School

Suggested Activities for Latin Week

Observance of Latin Week, in no matter how modest a way, has never been more important than it is this year. Any effort expended in this way has always paid big dividends in interest not only among Latin students but among their classmates and their elders as well. Professor Jonah W. D. Skiles, head of Region I for the national Committee on the Present Status of Classical Education, has compiled the following list of suggested activities for Latin Week. Many of these suggestions might well be put on our calendars, to be followed up the year around:

1. Assembly programs in your own high school, junior high schools, and grade schools
2. Radio programs (stations, if asked, will often give time)
3. Programs in the Latin classes
4. Student speakers before eighth-grade classes to explain the value of Latin and to answer questions
5. Requests to teachers of the social studies, English, mathematics, etc., that they put on a correlated program in their classes
6. An issue of the school paper by the Latin classes
7. A mimeographed bulletin for all students about the value of Latin (with inclusion of statements of well-known local persons)
8. Exhibits in the Latin classrooms, other classrooms, the halls, and the library
9. Displays of posters and books by the school library and by the public library
10. Exhibits in the windows of local business houses

11. Surveys of public opinion, locally or by a state (newspapers will publish excerpts from these as news)
12. Requests to the editor of the local newspaper that he write one or more editorials
13. Short articles in the local newspaper on the Greeks and the Romans and their languages (either by the students or by the teachers)
14. Point-of-view letters to the newspapers (by teachers, students, and parents)
15. Requests to the local newspapers to take and publish pictures of Latin Week activities, particularly parts of programs
16. Encouraging the members of the Latin classes to read an interesting book on Greece or Rome
17. Requesting the teachers of English and social studies to assign readings about Greece and Rome
18. Complete write-ups of all activities for the newspapers
19. Bringing in an outside lecturer for an assembly program
20. Showing slides and motion pictures to both Latin and other classes
21. Requesting the Parent-Teacher Association to have a classical program
22. Getting civic clubs to have a classical program
23. Getting some public-minded citizen or group to sponsor classical lectures open to the public
24. Sponsoring a classical picture show at a local theater
25. Requests to the local mayor to issue a proclamation about Latin Week
26. Giving as much advance publicity to the newspapers as possible
27. Contests for best posters, models, projects, essays ("The Value of Latin to Me," "Interesting Words from Latin," "Medical Words from Latin," etc.), and the like
28. Latin club meeting with parents (or eighth-grade students) invited
29. A tea (with exhibits) in the Latin Department
30. Open house (with exhibits) in the Latin Department
31. Letters to parents of prospective students or to the students themselves
32. An assembly talk by a prominent citizen who believes in Latin
33. A demonstration Latin lesson to eighth-grade pupils
34. A banquet for the members of the Latin classes
35. Exchange visits between nearby Latin clubs
36. Talks by Latin students to classes in English and social studies
37. Reviews (for local newspapers) of recent classical books of general interest
38. Requests to the local book-review club to review a classical book of general interest

ITEMS SUITABLE FOR EXHIBITS

1. Copies of famous classical paintings

2. Pictures of statues, architectural remains, and classical lands
3. Pictures of classical lands as shown in daily newspapers
4. Models
5. Dolls dressed in Roman costumes
6. Soap sculpture
7. Charts showing the value of Latin and Greek
8. Lists of Latin words used in various professions
9. Collections of mottoes (states, colleges, commercial firms, etc.)
10. A collection of state seals
11. Letters from prominent citizens about the value of Latin
12. Words in French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, etc., from Latin
13. Attractive textbooks (and other books) about the classics
14. Pictures of manuscripts
15. Charts of Greek and Roman history
16. Students' classwork (particularly notebooks)
17. Original drawings by students
18. Clippings from newspapers and magazines

ITEMS SUITABLE FOR PROGRAMS

1. A talk by a visitor on the value of Latin
2. A talk by a visitor on some classical subject
3. Classical slides or motion pictures
4. A play or a puppet show
5. A Roman style show
6. Talks by students on classical subjects
7. Talks by students ("I am going to be a doctor, Latin will help me, etc."
"I am going to be a teacher, etc.")
8. Singing of Latin songs
9. A reading from the Latin (or Greek) Bible and a prayer in Latin
10. Explanation of exhibits
11. Instrumental music with a classical background (e.g., the "Coriolanus Overture")

JONAH W. D. SKILES
Head of Region I, CPSCE

Westminster College
Fulton, Missouri

Latin Week in Lincoln, Nebraska

Latin Week in Lincoln, Nebraska, earned much newspaper publicity last year—and with reason. The *Advocate* gave a detailed

report of the broadcast that ushered in Latin Week on Monday, April 13. The announcer interrupted the program at intervals to intone, very distinctly, "Study Latin." At the close, remarking that even modern songs have been given Latin versions, he introduced the singing of "God Bless America"—not "electrically transcribed," but sung in Latin by the girls' octette. Such write-ups do not "make" the newspapers unless those who are interested see that a reporter is on hand at the time of the program or take it upon themselves to submit an account to the paper in good time. Previous arrangement insures more space and better placement, of course.

The Lincoln High School was alive with activity: Latin students, their interests, and accomplishments were very much in evidence. Miss Jessie B. Jury describes some of these things. It is customary for her students to wear special tags during Latin Week and to present them to faculty members, too, to wear as tags or to use as bookmarks. In 1941, the two-by-four-inch tag of white cardboard carried a stencil, in black, of a Roman shield, the upper half of which bore "S.P.Q.R.," the lower half, "Latin Week." In 1942, a slightly larger white tag had the Pledge to the Flag, in Latin, printed in blue, with the caption at the top and "Latin Week, April 13-17" at the bottom in red.

Latin students assembled mottoes, phrases, epigrams, etc., which were put on the blackboard in all home rooms, and upon Latin pupils who happened to be in the class fell the responsibility of translating these to the others. Slight changes or additions were made here or there. For instance, it was stated that Winston Churchill in 1938 was in the role of a "Modern Cassandra." The motto, "Vincere aut mori" was headed "General MacArthur's slogan," while as a matter of fact these were his words although he did not actually express the sentiment in Latin. "Can you read this?" appeared above each classroom motto, and "Study Latin," below.

Each class had a special report at some time that week. Then the classes were told on one day that, instead of a recitation, the game of principal parts would be played. Besides the commercial sets owned by the department, a sufficient number of additional

sets were made (ten books each) so they could be used at the same time in all the classes except Latin I, which had another game. Sets were made more difficult for Latin IV than for Latin II and III. Small prizes wrapped in red, white, and blue added zest and were a source of pride to the winners as evidence of their language achievement. This work of one period motivated the study of principal parts to an appreciable degree.

JESSIE B. JURY

*Lincoln High School
Lincoln, Nebraska*

Latin Newspaper Special for Latin Week

Newspapers play an important role in Latin Week—the local newspapers, through publicity, editorials, pictures, and write-ups of the special Latin activities of the week; the school paper, by letting the Latin classes get out the issue for that week; the regular Latin newspaper, with its special features for the week; and for the Latin classes that do not regularly get out a paper, by publishing one for this special occasion.

Mrs. Bessie Rathbun, Central High School, Omaha, put out such an "Extra" last year. All of the articles were written and signed by freshmen in the second semester of Latin. This three-page, mimeographed paper was most attractive and seasonable with its green, yellow, and blue sheets. It was headed:

SEPTIMANA LATINA
Mensis Aprilis MCMXLIII
Scriptiones Breviloquentes

Foreword:

Dedicamus has scriptiones vobis, auctoribus, et omnibus vestris comitibus qui opuscula Latina tam fideliter per omnes dies (?) studuerunt.

Speramus vos hoc libello fructuros esse et cupimus ut feriae verna vobis sint faustae et laetae.

Magistra Latina
B. R.

"Pluviae Apriles Procreant Flores Maiores" most appropriately heads the quotation of the first stanza of Horace's, *"Solvitur acris hiems,"* accompanied by the paraphrase written by Louis Unter-

meyer. Among the student features are: "*Tres Idus Celebres*," (in which brief statements are made in Latin on the famous Ides of March, on which Julius Caesar was assassinated; the Ides of April, on which Thomas Jefferson was born, and the Ides of October, the date of Vergil's birth), "*Joci*," and "*Verum an Falsum?*"

BESSIE RATHBUN

Central High School
Omaha, Nebraska

Book Mark: "Latin Goes to War"

Two Omaha teachers are again responsible for a most attractive and timely book mark.¹ This one measures $7\frac{1}{4}" \times 2\frac{1}{2}"$, is printed in blue on a stone gray cover-paper. The words "Book Mark," in handsome Old English, in the upper inch, are followed by the bold "Latin Goes to War." Headed by the Latin on the Great Seal of the United States, there are the Latin mottoes of twelve branches of the armed services:

E Pluribus Unum

Annuït Coeptis

Novus Ordo Seclorum

Marines

Semper Fideles

Coast Guard

Semper Paratus

Medical Corps

Firmo et Tueor

Air Force

Sustineo Alas

Fifty-first Signal Corps

Semper Constans

First Ordnance

Non Nobis Solum

Fourth Engineers

Volens et Potens

Cavalry School

Mobilitate Vigemus

Chemical Warfare School

Elementis Proelium Regamus

¹ Cf. CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXVI, 50.

Observation Squadron
Fidelis et Alertus
Field Artillery School
Cedat Fortuna Peritis

To this list have been added:²

59 Coast Artillery School
Defendimus
Fourth Cavalry
Paratus et Fidelis
Eighteenth Division
Noli me tangere
Naval Academy, Annapolis
Ex Scientia Tridens

BESSIE RATHBUN
AMY CRABBE

Central High School, Omaha
North High School, Omaha

Latin Honor Roll Using Army Citations

The Latin Honor Roll using army citations has proved very popular at the Pierce Junior High School, Detroit. A description follows:

Each student is a soldier fighting for freedom, realizing that it is his job to learn all he can. For each piece of meritorious work he receives an advancement in rank from private to officer (from 2nd Lieutenant to 1st Lieutenant, Captain, Major, Lt. Colonel, Colonel, etc., on up to the rank of General). This is to inspire him to do more than the regular assignment. His rank is posted on the bulletin board. He is also given the appropriate insignie, which is made from gold and silver *passe parlout*—so that it is a simple matter to cut the bars and put them on their notebooks.

The extra work consists in part of reading other Latin stories, writing the Latin for jokes, cartoons, funny papers, Mother Goose rhymes, and fairy stories. A large collection of these is now on hand, along with detective stories and Aesop's fables—all in Latin. Cutouts from story books bought at the dime stores make an interesting frieze for the back of the classroom. The Latin story is pasted over the English one. Even students who are not taking Latin come in to read and see this colorful display. As for the Latin students,

² Readers who are acquainted with additional mottoes are requested to send them in to this Department. G. L. B.

this exercise gives them excellent additional practice in the use and choice of words in the large Latin dictionary, and the more they read and write the better they become. Their reaction is gratifying to watch. One girl, whose father is a captain, has been working hard to surpass him in rank and make him salute her. Such eagerness is the secret of all advancement.

The teacher, of course, is the commander-in-chief, and as such I have been more than pleased with the results. A system of demerits has eliminated any possible trouble that might have arisen in cases where the student would be tempted to do only the extra work and "slide by" on the required assignments.

MILDRED SIMMONS

*Pierce Junior High School
Detroit, Michigan*

CURRENT EVENTS

[Edited by George E. Lane, Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; John N. Hough, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; Russell M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest; Kevin Guinagh, Eastern State Teachers' College, Charleston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the Middle Western States. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth, and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of the latter date.]

The Classical Association of New England

The thirty-ninth annual meeting the Classical Association of New England was held at Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Massachusetts, on March 17 and 18. Members of the Association and their guests were entertained by the Academy without charge.

Speakers: Mr. Frank L. Boyden, Headmaster of Deerfield Academy; Lt. (j.g.) Walter Allen, Jr., USNR; Miss Doris S. Barnes, Nashua High School, N. H.; Mr. Goodwin B. Beach, Hartford, Conn.; President Dorothy Bell, Bradford Junior College, Mass.; Mr. John B. Dicklow, Deerfield Academy; Professor Eleanor S. Duckett, Smith College; Miss Helen A. Glynn, Hudson High School, Mass.; Professor Lillian B. Lawler, Hunter College; Dr. Joseph J. Reilly, Librarian of Hunter College; Mr. Alexander H. Rice, St. George's School, R. I.; Professor Leslie F. Smith, University of Maine; Professor Edgar H. Sturtevant, Yale University; Professor Joshua Whatmough, Harvard University.

Officers of the Association for 1943-44 are: Rev. Joseph R. N. Maxwell, S.J., Holy Cross College, president; Miss Stella Mayo Brooks, Spaulding High School, Barre, Vermont, vice-president; Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., Wesleyan University, secretary-treasurer; Dr. George A. Land, Newton High School, Mass., representative on the Council of the American Classical League.

Classical Association of the Pacific States—Central Section

This group combined forces with the Modern Language Association of Northern and Central California for a joint meeting on the morning of January 15, 1944, in Room 101, California Hall, on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley. The joint meeting was presided over by

Mrs. Carol Wickert, of Berkeley, president of the Classical Association of the Pacific States.

Professor B. Q. Morgan, head of the Department of Germanic Languages at Stanford University, spoke very searchingly and trenchantly on *After the War*, indicating the aims all language teachers should bear in mind, and putting forward some methods of keeping the claims of the languages before the public and of "carrying the war into Africa" as well. A brisk discussion followed on the value of intensive training courses in languages, with the general conclusion reached that judgment on what had actually been achieved would have to be postponed for some time. A clear distinction was established between intensive methods for purely practical ends in the case of non-literary, relatively limited, languages, and the methods required for dealing with highly developed languages with great literatures and high spiritual content.

After lunch the Classical Association had its own meeting, at which the usual reports were received and adopted, and, in accordance with the report of the nominating committee, Miss Lillian Williams, of the Stockton High School, Stockton, California, was named president for the ensuing year, and Dr. W. H. Alexander was continued in office as secretary-treasurer.

Dr. Alexander, Professor of Latin in the University of California, gave the address of the afternoon, which, under the title of "Days, Months, and Years," dealt with the various questions likely to be asked of teachers, and especially of teachers of Latin, about odd points in our calendar arrangements so directly inherited from the Roman time-system. The attendance was over fifty.

W. H. ALEXANDER
Secretary

Iowa—Latin Conference at Cornell College

A Latin Conference will be held at Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa on Friday evening, May 12 and Saturday, May 13. Professor Walter Agard, of the University of Wisconsin, will give several lectures. Dr. Walter Miller; Professor Clyde Murley, of Northwestern University; Professor C. C. Mierow, of Carleton College; Professors Dorrance White and Oscar Nybakken, of the State University of Iowa; Professor Mars Westington, of Hanover College; Professor Bridgham, of Grinnell College; Miss Ortha L. Wilner, of Milwaukee State Teachers' College; and a number of well-known high-school teachers of Latin will be on the program. Miss Marguirette Struble, of the Iowa State Teachers' College, will have charge of an exhibit of material useful in creating a classroom "atmosphere." The general topic of the Conference will be "the Place of the Classics in Post-War Education." Professor Mark E. Hutchinson, of Cornell College, is in general charge of the Conference, which is being held under the auspices of the Department of Classical Languages at Cornell College. It is hoped that a large number of high-school

and college teachers of Latin from Iowa, western Illinois, and neighboring states will attend the conference.

Massachusetts—Boston

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Eastern Massachusetts section of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Club of Greater Boston was held at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts on the morning of Saturday, February 12, at ten o'clock. The program was as follows: "A Word of Welcome," Miss Sylvia Lee, president of the Classical Club; "Recent Use and Misuse of Greek Myth," Miss Helen H. Law, Associate Professor of Greek, Wellesley College; "Aristotle and Shakespeare," Reverend Carol L. Bernhardt, S.J., Weston College; "Rome in 1940" (Illustrated), Dr. Marion E. Blake, Research Associate of the Carnegie Institution in Washington, D. C.; "Ancient Monuments in North Africa, Sicily, and Southern Italy" (Illustrated), Dean George H. Chase, Harvard University.

South Dakota

An important round-table discussion of Latin teachers was held recently in conjunction with a district meeting of the South Dakota Education Association in Sioux Falls. Dr. Grace L. Beede, of the University of South Dakota, presided. Many problems of war and post-war adjustments in the teaching of Latin were discussed. The new officers are: Carl Seeger, of Beresford, district president; Lillian Aaland, of Beresford, vice-president; Mrs. Elaine Plowman, of Parker, secretary; Dr. Grace L. Beede, of Vermillion, official representative for the Latin section at the next state meeting.

"Latin in the Everyday World" is the subject of a state-wide essay contest being conducted this spring for first- and second-year Latin students. Carl Seeger, of Beresford, represents the South Dakota Classical Association as contest chairman.

Tennessee—Memphis

In Memphis, J. M. Smith, Director of Education, has this to say in the *Press-Scimitar* of February 8:

The Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association recently recommended that the teaching of the ancient languages and literature be limited to the very few who will derive some cultural value and who will use these languages in their scholarly pursuits. The recommendation was made with the view of releasing the teachers of these subjects for "educational service vital to the war effort."

I do not concur in the above recommendation. Neither do I believe that the excuse given for curtailing the instruction in these subjects is the real reason for the recommendation. In my opinion, it is just another attempt by "progressive educators" to

eliminate from the curriculum those subjects which are difficult and which require some real study, including home study, on the part of students. The attack on the subjects has been made before, but to use the "war effort" as an excuse borders on being unpatriotic.

Latin Gives Background

The Army and Navy have consistently urged the schools to continue to give the students a broad and thorough educational background, with emphasis on mathematics, science, and English. I know of no subject which develops the knowledge of English better than does the study of Latin. If more of our students graduated from high school with a good foundation in the above subjects, upon which the Army and Navy could build, I am certain that the Latin teachers could feel confident that their contribution to the educational services was vital to the war effort.

We are glad to add that in the territory around Memphis the Latin Tournament, discontinued last year on account of transportation difficulties, will this year be resumed with the very hearty endorsement of the superintendents of education both of the City of Memphis and of Shelby County.

Vanderbilt—Theodosian Code

The first step in a long-term research project—the translation into English of the entire body of Roman law—will be undertaken this year with the translation of the Theodosian Code at Vanderbilt University. The work on the Theodosian Code is being done at Vanderbilt by Dr. Clyde Pharr, Professor of Classics, with the aid of Dr. Theresa Davidson and a graduate seminar, and under a one-year research grant from the Vanderbilt University Board of Trust.

(From the *New York Times*, Jan. 16)

The Fence

In the current issue of the *American Scholar*¹ Howard B. Adelmann, "a worker in the sciences," addresses his "friends and colleagues on the humanistic side of the academic fence." His remarks are so timely that we append the concluding paragraph, in which the whole is summarized:

This war is going to send our young people back to you in larger numbers than of late. They are going to return to you surfeited, sick unto death of technological and scientific detail. They will, many of them, thirst after the good things, the human values, you can offer them. There lies the chance you may seize to the everlasting benefit of us all. In this modern world, however, no man can well get along without an awareness of the great technological and scientific advances of our age. We must work together to destroy the fence that has, to our common disadvantage, kept us apart, or at least provide friendly and inviting portals through it. It is for us both to show the student that the humanistic and natural sciences together form a part of the heritage he ought, in justice to himself and for the good of the world, to enter into.

¹ The *American Scholar*, published quarterly by Phi Beta Kappa for general circulation; 12 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Washington, D. C.—Latin Positions

In Canada it is customary to advertise for teachers to fill definite vacancies, and to select the best qualified from among those who care to apply. It seems to us to be a good, straightforward procedure, and accordingly we print with pleasure herewith a similar announcement from Washington:

If you have a bachelor's degree in Latin and a desire to teach it, the public school system of the Nation's capital offers opportunities to candidates to qualify for a list of eligibles from which appointments may be made to several positions in the junior high schools. Examinations for candidates holding the master's degree leading to appointment in Classes 3A of the senior high schools and 2C of the junior high schools are held on Easter Monday of each year. Examinations for candidates who hold only the bachelor's degree, leading to appointment in Class 2A of the junior high schools, are held during the first half of June in each year. Full information as to requirements for certification to take these examinations may be secured by writing to Mrs. Mildred H. Gropp, Chief Examiner, Board of Examiners, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and K Streets, N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

A Request for Information

Many colleges and universities offer various programs of interest to classics teachers during the summer. These may be complete summer programs with credit, or classical conferences of one kind or another. Whatever these may be, if the institutions concerned will be good enough to let us know of their plans, we shall be glad to publish as complete information as possible in the June issue.

NEWS LETTER NUMBER 27

MARCH, 1944

PRESENT STATUS OF CLASSICAL EDUCATION CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH

DORRANCE S. WHITE, Editor

DEAR COLLEAGUES:

Probably every one of us has sat in on a football rally preceding an important game. "Come on, now," shouts the leader, pacing up and down the platform, "if the game goes against us tomorrow, let's get out there and back up the team to the limit! We've gotta shout and cheer just that much louder! Don't let the team down! Come on, now, give 'em the old 'Hold that line!' . . ."

In a way that psychology applies to you and me. We Latin teachers have got to stop whistling in the dark and take a realistic view of the Latin situation. We know that the so-called practical subjects are being promoted as never before and the so-called non-essentials, including Latin, are being depressed, if not in fact suppressed. My investigations show less, not more, co-operation between the rank and file of Latin teachers. We seem to droop with pessimism. We need a cheer-leader. Our national chairman, A. Pelzer Wagener, is our cheer-leader. He has put into your hands under date of December 27, 1943, certain exhortations. May I not repeat those on page one?

Co-operate to the full with your state chairman and your regional head in carrying out their plans.

Make contact with teachers in your vicinity who are not members of our Association; give them copies of the bulletin issued last fall, of Professor Tavenner's editorial "Pass the Ammunition," and of the bulletin on "Committee Activities and Suggestions for Latin Week" issued last spring; and ask for their active support and participation in our work. Send or give copies of Professor Tavenner's editorial and of the American Classical League's pamphlet, "Why Latin and Greek Should Not Be Discontinued in Our Schools," to officials in schools and colleges of your state, and to educational or civic leaders whose support may be retained or enlisted.

We have leadership. We have encouraging signs. *You* must supply the optimism and we must all pull together to make Latin teaching, even to very small classes, a vital thing.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING IN WISCONSIN

A seventy-eight-page bulletin issued from the office of John Callahan, State Superintendent of Wisconsin Schools, brings us information directly pertinent to our Present Status work. The bulletin, *Language Teaching in Wisconsin Public High Schools*, was written by Frank J. Klier, of the Wisconsin High School at Madison, who in his Foreword states that the study "presents the results of a comprehensive questionnaire sent to all teachers of foreign languages in the public High Schools of Wisconsin at the beginning of the second semester, 1941-42, and answered by 100 per cent of these teachers."

This work was undertaken, according to the author, "primarily for the benefit of principals and teachers, in order to fill a gap in curricular information; to facilitate planning; to stimulate interest in language study; and to guide future teachers."

Superintendent Callahan, in introducing the bulletin to your editor, made this stimulating remark:

This Language Study is the first complete survey of its kind in Wisconsin. Aside from filling a need in curricular information, the booklet is very timely, for languages are expected to assume an increasingly important role in the post-war world. The intensive language-training program now conducted for military personnel at many institutions in the United States does more than demonstrate the global character of the conflict. It shows the need for a much firmer foundation and knowledge of foreign tongues and thought to the effect that America may intelligently play her proper role in the shaping of the peace-time world.

An idea of the scope of the study may be seen by the Table of Contents: Foreword; Chapter I—"Problem and Method in Retrospect"; Chapter II—"Enrolment in Languages"; Chapter III—"The Attitudes of Community-Parents and Pupils toward High-School Language Programs. Teacher Judgments of the Trend"; Chapter IV—"The Preparation of Language Teachers"; Chapter V—"Language Teachers at Work: Teaching Load, Tenure, and

Salaries"; Chapter VI—"The *Typical* Language Teacher in a Wisconsin Public High School"; Chapter VII—"An Analysis of Teacher Objectives in Language Study"; Chapter VIII—"Aids and Methods in Language Teaching"; Chapter IX—"The Importance of Languages in War and in Peace"; Appendix I—"Questionnaire Used for This Survey"; Appendix II—"Partial List of References."

Interesting summaries are provided throughout Mr. Klier's report. For example, it was found that at the beginning of 1942, 13 per cent of the pupils enrolled in Wisconsin public high schools studied language. Of these, 7.0 per cent studied Latin; 2.2 per cent German; 1.9 per cent Spanish; 1.4 per cent French; 0.3 per cent Polish; 0.2 per cent Italian. "In January, 1942 it [Latin] was elected by more pupils than all modern languages combined."

The varying appeal of languages to boys and girls is seen by the fact that in Wisconsin almost twice as many girls as boys study Latin; almost as many boys as girls study German; in Spanish it is practically a 50-50 election; and French is distinctly a girl's language, as the proportion is 2.4 to 1.

One-language school systems constituted 62 per cent of all language systems and 36 per cent of the total school systems in Wisconsin. Latin was taught in five times as many systems as its nearest competitor, German; and German was found in 62 per cent more schools than French; but French in five times as many schools as Spanish. The average pupil enrolment of these Latin Schools, when compared with the average population of modern-language schools, indicated that Latin was the only language in even some of the larger systems.

In school systems where only two languages were taught, "the combination German-Latin was encountered most frequently, with French-Latin as a fairly close contender." In the larger school systems, in which two languages are taught simultaneously, it was found that the combination French and Latin occurred more frequently. The Table presented on page 20, while too detailed for the space available in our News Letter, shows that Latin was given in 212 out of 259 school systems, or 82 per cent of the language systems, and 48 per cent of the total systems. Figures for German were 87, 34, and 19; French 69, 27, and 15 respectively. At least one language was offered in 59.25 per cent of all school systems in the State.

In the matter of subject preparation in college, it was found that "*Latin* majors were most frequently combined with minors in English (with history as a second minor) and in German (with English as a second minor); *German* majors were most frequently accompanied by minors in English, French (with English as second minor), and Latin; with *French* majors went, in this order, minors in English, German, and Latin. . . ."

Complete returns from 496 teachers showed that language teaching was most frequently combined with English (46.0 per cent), as one would naturally expect; with social studies—history included (18.0 per cent); with library (12.0 per cent); mathematics (7.0 per cent); music (4.0 per cent). Combinations with other subjects represent a much smaller per cent. The author remarks here, "The teaching combination, Language-Social Studies, which is second highest in the list, may be indicative of a new trend in secondary education, by paralleling two subjects intimately connected with adapting young people to their environment."

It was found that Latin teachers showed the highest median mark in years of service (6.0) and made the lowest per cent of changes in subjects (5).

A *typical* Latin teacher in a Wisconsin public high school would have a total of 17 students in the first year, made up of 5 boys and 12 girls; in the second year she (rarely he) would have 12 students, 4 boys and 8 girls; in the third year she would have just one boy and one girl, and for the fourth year she would have a single girl student.

Loyalty to the home product is seen in the following statement: "Disregarding the Milwaukee system, the *typical* language teacher graduated from the University of Wisconsin would receive a somewhat higher salary and would teach in a considerably larger community than a graduate holding a Bachelor's degree from another institution."

General valid objectives were listed by teachers in the questionnaire. The following ten the author cites (I presume in order of importance):

1. The ability to *read* the language with ease and understanding
2. The ability to *write* the language correctly

3. The ability to pronounce, understand the spoken language, and *speak* the language which is studied
4. The understanding of other civilizations and peoples
5. The improvement of English vocabulary and grammar
6. The use of more correct English
7. The understanding of the sources of English words
8. The understanding of the structure of English and its relation to other languages
9. The strengthening of our democracy
10. The bringing about of a spirit of tolerance toward people not native Americans

The Latin teachers, in common with the modern-language teachers, ranked objectives 1 and 2 in the above list as first and second in importance, respectively. For some unknown reason, according to the author, the Milwaukee Latin teachers selected objective 3 as the fourth important aim (cf. p. 47). The editor of this News Letter is convinced that there is some error connected with this part of the questionnaire, because there is no reason to believe that Milwaukee Latin teachers are so much more idealistically constituted than other Latin teachers of the State (and country at large) that they could hope to achieve the third objective within the period of two years. Even modern-language teachers despair of that! It is interesting to note that the rank and file of Wisconsin Latin teachers placed objective 5 in third place of importance.

The author of this important booklet occupies his concluding chapter with a discussion of three topics, fairly well known to readers of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*: "The Importance of Languages in War and in Peace," "What Administrators and Teachers Can Do," and "The Need For Languages in War and Peace." Mr. Klier makes a plea that administrators recognize the fact that two years of language study in the high school must be stretched to three or more years in order that the most important objectives of foreign-language study may be attained. He suggests that they demand a higher standard of preparation for language teachers. He shows that never before in the history of American education has there been such great need for a knowledge of ancient and modern foreign languages. If this country is to avoid provincialism and

national stagnation, increased emphasis upon language study is a "must" in our public school education.

COMMITTEE CHANGES

Several forces have brought about changes in our Present Status Committee, such as sickness, overwork, change of residence. One of the most active and efficient committee members, Mrs. Marion Butler, of Waco, state chairman for Texas, has been compelled to resign. Mrs. Minnie Lee Shepard, of the University of Texas, has accepted this chairmanship. All who know Mrs. Shepard will recognize in her a worthy successor.

Miss Ruth Dunham, of Mansfield, Ohio, has resigned and Professor Henry C. Montgomery, of Miami University, Oxford, has accepted appointment in her place.

Professor Mark Hutchinson, of Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, has consented to head Region III, in place of Kevin Guinagh.

Miss Winnie D. Lowrance, of the University of Kansas, reports the present personnel of her state committee:

Miss Winnie D. Lowrance, University of Kansas, chairman

Miss Mary Johnston, Hays High School

Miss Alfreda Horner, Wichita High School East

Miss Cornelia Alderson, Concordia High School

Sister Mary Antoinette, Marymount College, Salina

Rev. William Paul Barnds, 400 East Maple Street, Independence

Miss Lowrance adds the cheerful news about the last-named member of her committee: "Mr. Barnds is not a teacher, but is as much interested in promoting the classics as if he were, and I am sure that he can do the cause much good. He is the chief promotor of Latin Week in Kansas." We must not lose sight of the fact that some of our most enthusiastic supporters are laymen quite indirectly connected with our field. And one well-spoken word from them is worth ten from us.

Quite apropos of this is an article in the *Modern Language Journal* of November, 1943, by A. M. Withers, an English teacher, at Concord College, Athens, West Virginia. This writer makes a plea

that students of Latin be required to study the language at least three years, preferably four, in order to get a greater value from the study. How is this for an ally, who concludes, "And thus I submit that it would be well for all who are responsible for college English, and for modern foreign languages begun in college, to band together in demanding at least one year of college Cicero and Vergil."

Faithfulness to our work as Latin teachers does not end with top-notch teaching in the classroom. Despite those who insist, "Let Latin speak for itself!" in this time of sharp competition in a crowded curriculum we must *show how* Latin speaks for itself. And so I should like to close this letter with a reminder to consult News Letter No. 26, p. 187¹ and note there three important bulletins and reprints and suggestions.

Cordially yours,
DORRANCE S. WHITE

*1152 East Court Street
Iowa City, Iowa*

¹ December, 1943.

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

[Compiled by Professors Adolph Frederick Pauli and John William Spaeth, Jr., of Wesleyan University.]

Modern Language Quarterly iv (1943).—(June: 177-183) Vernon Hall, Jr., "Decorum in Italian Renaissance Literary Criticism." (205-208) Carlos Baker, "The Traditional Background of Shelley's Ivy-Symbol." From his "wide reading in classical authors" Shelley had become acquainted with the traditional connection between ivy and Bacchus; but "the wider application of the ivy-symbol to include desire in its more fleshly aspects" he probably derived from Edmund Spenser. (September: 359-362) Martin E. Erickson, "A Guatemalan Translator of Horace." Examples of verse translations of the *Odes* by José Batres y Montúfar.

Modern Language Review xxxviii (1943).—(July: 222-225) J. H. Whitfield, "The Anatomy of Virtue." Machiavelli's free use of the word *virtù*, derived from the varied meanings of *virtus* and *virtutes* in Latin authors, precludes the existence of a definite moral "doctrine of *virtù* in Machiavelli . . . his use of terms is imprecise. . . ."

Modern Philology xli (1943).—(August: 33-44) Maynard Mack, "Pope's Horatian Poems: Problems of Bibliography and Text." (November: 88-95) Lucy A. Paton, "Notes on Merlin in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth." The study leads to "the conclusion that in his presentation of Merlin in the *Historia*, Geoffrey, following out the train of thought started by 'Merlinus,' introduced features from the [Roman] myth of Picus," known to him notably through Ovid. (96-102) Leo Spitzer, "The Prologue to the *Lais* of Marie de France and Medieval Poetics." An allusion to Priscian indicated. (103-110) Frank B. Evans, III, "Platonic Scholarship in Eighteenth-Century England." The "foundations of Romantic Platonism were laid by scholars of the eighteenth century," who "continued to edit, translate, study, and read Plato, even though his direct influence on literature had waned." The article concludes with a valuable "List of the Editions and English Translations of Plato from 1670 to 1804."

Philological Quarterly xxii (1943).—(July: 193-210) Ernest W. Talbert, "The Classical Mythology and the Structure of *Cynthia's Revels*." An analysis of Ben Jonson's drama, in particular a study of his use of the Echo, Narcissus, Niobe, and Actaeon myths, to show "that moral expositions of mythology stand back of many speeches in *Cynthia's Revels*, unify the mythological elements Jonson uses, and are closely related to the ethical maxims he attempts to inculcate." Jonson, "like Sidney, conceived of the poet as a poet-

moralist, a poet-teacher. . . ." (230-239) Harry Levin, "Jonson's Metempsychosis." This study of Jonson's development from "stern satirist" to "genial Observer" considers the classical sources of his *Volpone*. The influence of Lucian "has penetrated to the core of the drama. With the exception of a few details . . . Mosca's interlude is based on Lucian's *Gallus*. . . . But Jonson, who had great Latin but less Greek, was most familiar with this dialogue in the translation of Erasmus. It was largely *The Praise of Folly* . . . which served as the intermediary between *Volpone* and Jonson's classical sources." (266-277) Sol Liptzin, "Heinrich Heine, Hellenist and Cultural Pessimist: A Late Victorian Legend."

PMLA (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*) LVIII (1943).—(September: 621-633) Leicester Bradner, "A Check List of Original Neo-Latin Dramas by Continental Writers Printed Before 1650." Italy, France, Germany and The Netherlands, Spain and Portugal, Other Countries. (649-664) Gretchen L. Finney, "Chorus in *Samson Agonistes*." Milton's indebtedness to the seventeenth-century Italian musical drama and oratorio in his Chorus, which, as he says in his preface to *Samson Agonistes*, "is here introduc'd after the Greek manner, not antient only but modern, and still in use among the Italians." (665-673) Baxter Hathaway, "John Dryden and the Function of Tragedy." The study concludes that Dryden "stood at the crossroads between . . . the explanation of the function of tragedy created by the Neo-Stoics of the seventeenth century . . . and the sentimental view which was destined to become the important new theory after the advent of Shaftesbury. . . . [Dryden] made use of the Aristotelian doctrine [of catharsis] only when he embraced the sentimental explanation," in doing which he adopted, and modified, a view propounded earlier by René Rapin in his treatise on the *Poetics* (1674). (728-753) Kenneth N. Cameron, "The Political Symbolism of *Prometheus Unbound*."

Review of Educational Research XIII (1943).—(April: 127-134) B. L. Ullman, "The Teaching of Latin." A survey of more recent pedagogical studies in the field, under the following headings: Enrolment; Objectives; Integration; English Vocabulary and Its Attainment; Other Ultimate Objectives; Changes in Content and Method; Vocabulary; Form and Syntax; Tests; Miscellaneous; College Latin. The article concludes with an extensive bibliography.

Review of English Studies XIX (1943).—(July: 276-284) A. F. Allison, "The Poetry of A. E. Housman." This literary essay includes observations on classic traits and classical echoes in Housman's poetry. "The poems . . . reflect his conviction that man's soul is no less material than his body and perishes with it. . . . There is a kinship here with the Latin poets who adapted Greek philosophy to their moods, particularly with Horace, one of whose Odes [iv, 7] . . . he translates. . . . Housman's manner is the manner of Simonides when he wrote of the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae . . . and

the similarity is not only in the manner but in the mood. . . . Classic and romantic meet in him without conflict." (297-301) B. Rajan, "The Motivation of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*."

School and Society LVIII (1943).—(July 3: 6) "English Non-Classical Opinion on the Value of the Classics." Some quotations from an article, entitled "The Utilitarian Value of the Classics," that appeared in the June issue of *The Journal of Education* (London).

School Review LI (1943).—(December: 610-613) Willard B. Spalding and William C. Kvaraceus, "The Secondary Schools in Transition: 1635-1943." Conclusions drawn from a brief analysis of the "transitions through which the [American] secondary school has passed since its beginning in the Boston Public Latin School in 1635." Successively the public Latin school was followed by the academy and the academy by the public high school. Today, even though "the old arguments of vested interests are again being used to retard the emergence of new institutions," there will come from the present crisis "new ways of living and new institutions. Among these will be a new secondary school."

Scientific Monthly LXII (1943).—(October: 301-314) Victor W. von Hagen, "Paper and Civilization." An historical account of the invention of various forms of "paper" as writing material and of their use throughout the world. Included are brief treatments of the development of papyrus by the Egyptians and of parchment (*membrum pergamenum*) at the city of Pergamon. (November: 452-456) Blake D. Prescott, "Malaria: Malady of the Marshes." Superstitions about the origin of malaria have "given rise to a wide array of highly fanciful views." Accounts of the disease "date back to the earliest days of recorded medicine." Passages in the Bible and in Greek and Roman literatures, as well as later writings, are cited as examples.

South Atlantic Monthly XLII (1943).—(January: 54-58) A. M. Withers, "The Latin Road is Best." It is best "for the comprehension and enjoyment of our own tongue and its literature." It is the path "in which the old and the present masters of English have walked, and . . . out of their number, none has found it desirable, and few have found it possible, to forego close study of the Latin language." (April: 105-112) Wendell L. Willkie, "Liberal Arts Education in a World at War." This well-known manifesto in behalf of the humanities was "originally delivered as an address at Duke University, January 14, 1943."

Times Literary Supplement (London) XLII (1943).—(No. 2163, July 17: 343) Katherine M. Buck, "What is Scholarship?" Some observations on the etymology of the word.

University of Pennsylvania General Magazine and Historical Chronicle XLVI (1943).—(17-20) J. Duncan Spaeth, "The American Liberal Arts College." (20-29) Ralph Pemberton, "A Physician Looks at Education."

University of Toronto Quarterly xii (1943).—(July: 415–425) William H. Alexander, "Pure Well of Latin Undefined." An essay in praise of Caesar's prose writing: "... nowhere better than in the Latinity of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* would one come to know what the Latin language could achieve with its own unaided powers. . . ."

SPAETH

Accent iv (1943).—(Autumn: 9–11) "Rainer Maria Rilke, 'Alcestitis,'" translated by Dudley Fitts. A versified translation of a poem by Rilke that deals with Alcestitis' willingness to die in behalf of her husband.

PAULI